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From the Editor

Dear Readers, Dear Researchers,

We're pleased to publish the first issue of the *Musicologist: International Journal of Music Studies*, as the scientific publication organ of Karadeniz Technical University (KTU) State Conservatory.

Musicologist is an internationally peer-reviewed journal, published in open access, in English and operating in a double blind system. Published biannually in the months of June and December, *Musicologist* will have 5 academic works, including original research articles or reviews, publicity, field notes and ethnographic writings, and translations related to musicology. The journal aims to make a major contribution to musicological discourse worldwide by presenting high-level and original scholarly research, theoretical discussions and up-to-date methodological studies, and to thus become an effective locus for scholarship around the world.

In line with this goal, we first introduced the idea for the *Musicologist* Journal during the closing session of the 2nd International Music and Dance Studies Symposium we organized in Trabzon in 2016. We progressed step by step from that day onward and arrived at the present moment by dedicating serious effort at each stage and discussing ideas. The periodical publication committee was created with the valuable contributions of the members of KTU State Conservatory. The core of this work was done by a group of upstanding editors, with the board consisting of scientists from 15 different countries, each of whom has made significant contributions to their field.

The first issue of *Musicologist* is dedicated to Prof. Ş. Şehvar Beşiroğlu, whom we lost during the preparation process of our journal, and who greatly contributed to the department and to our journal since its establishment.

We cannot forget the contributions our teacher, Ms. Beşiroğlu, has made to the development of the field of musicology in Turkey and to the scientific activities of Turkish musicology at the international level. We will share with you a short biography of Ş. Şehvar Beşiroğlu, a greatly esteemed scientist, following the table of contents. We remember her as her students and colleagues with our deepest love, longing and gratitude.

Music researchers from 5 different countries, including (in the order of publication) Australia, Austria, Georgia, Greece, and Serbia contributed to our first issue.

Charulatha Mani, in her article titled "Gesture in Musical Declamation: An Intercultural Approach", identifies declamation in music as an ideal musical framework for gestured performance, by referring to historical literature related to performance practices. She

draws a parallel between the gesture of Southern Indian Carnatic singing practice and the rhetorical gesture used by orators and singers in Early Modern Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Wei-Ya Lin, in her article titled "Representing Musical Identities of Children with Migrant Background – An Example from the Research Project Music without Borders", draws attention to the disadvantages and precarious situation of immigrant students in the Austrian education system. As a result of the "Music without Borders" project, which she conducts with Hande Sağlam in the schools in Vienna, she tries to determine the problems and needs of students, parents, and teachers in everyday practice, and to develop constructive strategies.

Nino Razmadze, in her article titled "Larchemi/Soinari - The Georgian Panpipe", examines the instrument which known as the ancient panpipe and as Larchemi or Soinari in Georgian traditional musical instrumentarium together with organological, ethnographic, and musical characteristics in the historical background.

Athena Katsanevaki, in her article "Modern Laments in Northwestern Greece, Their Importance in Social and Musical Life and "Making" of Oral Tradition", discusses and contrasts the observations and experiences based on field research on laments in a way that covers Northwest Greece and surrounding regions. She explains the functionalities of the laments and how they contribute to music-making in the process of change, and also refers to their multiple functions in social life.

Jelena Jankovic-Begus, in her article titled "Between East and West: Socialist Modernism as the Official Paradigm of Serbian Art Music in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia", describes the political developments in the second half of the 20th century and the changes in Yugoslav art by relating them to different trends. She discusses Serbian music history and musicology, with a focus on the Serbian composer Aleksander Obradovic's sample.

As we see it, the first issue of the *Musicologist* offers an impressive spectrum of diverse subfields of musicology and interdisciplinary work, which deals with a wide geographical area.

I would like to particularly thank: my dear colleague, Merve Eken Küçükaksoy, who has greatly contributed to offering this issue to you and has shared all the responsibilities with me, as my greatest supporter since the earliest stage; Emrah Ergene, our devoted assistant; our technical editor, Beyhan Karpuz; the distinguished scientist Jim Samson, who offered us instruction throughout every stage of this work and helped us make our way whenever we were in trouble; our language editor Marina Kaganova who altruistically accepted to work with us; all members of the board of editors; the readers, who selected the articles for this issue and offered helpful advice to the writers; and, of course, our writers who contributed to the world of research with their valuable articles.

We expect your valuable contributions for the new issue of *Musicologist* to be released in June 2018. I hope that our journal will continue to work with the same determination and resolution.

With gratitude for your readership,

Abdullah Akat

Editor-in-Chief

In Memory of Ş. ŞEHVAR BEŞİROĞLU

Prof. Ş. Şehvar Beşiroğlu was a Qanun and Çeng performer. She graduated from Istanbul Technical University State Conservatory Turkish Music Department in 1986 with a specialization in advance Qanun performance. Between 1986-1989, she studied harp and developed harp techniques by using her knowledge of Qanun and Çeng. She completed her master's degree at the Social Sciences Institute of the Istanbul Technical



University in 1988, and her doctorate in 1994. In 1991 she established "Lale Topluluğu", which consists of all women performers and has given many concerts in the UK and Turkey. Starting in 1993 she organized several seminars, summer schools and master classes on the performance and musicology of Ottoman - Turkish music in the New England Conservatory, Harvard University, Berkley Music School, MIT, Massachusetts University, Northeastern University, Princeton University, Chicago University, Bologna University of Italy, Samam High Music Institute, and in Arabic Music Retreat organized by Simon Shaheen every year in America. From 1995 onwards, she participated in the several congresses organized by Historical Harp Society, SEM, BFE, ICTM, MEHAT, MESA, AMIS and CIM. She gave concerts in Ottoman-Turkish music repertoire with such notable performers like Derya Türkan, Serhan Aytan, Salih Bilgin and Mehmet Emin Bitmez, within the scope of M.I.T Ağa Han Program at Killian Hall in 1996, and in 2005 at Darül'Esad Opera House in Damascus. She also participated in the concerts of "Eurasia Ensemble" and "Romeiko Ensemble" in America as a Qanun performer. In 2000, she played Qanun on 2 CDs made for book titled "Cantemir Ensemble" which she co-wrote with Murat Aydemir, Hüseyin Tuncel, Salih Bilgin and Cengiz Onural and Yalçın Tura's book "Kantemiroğlu Edvar" that consisted of repertoire from the 17th and 18th Centuries.

Within the scope of a European Union project, she played concerts both in Turkey and abroad with "Hattusha Ensemble" where Hittite music instruments are employed. She played the remade Hittite Lir and Harp at these concerts. She gave seminars on Anatolian Music Geography starting from Hittites with "Hattusha Seminar Group", with the participation of Oguz Elbas, Cihat Aşkın, Ertuğrul Bayraktar, and Okan Murat Öztürk. She worked on project MORE, which was organized by Cite de la Musique in Paris, under the European Union projects. In 1999, she served as a guest researcher and lecturer in "Visiting Scholar" in the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University in Boston, USA, and in the Department of Musicology and Music History at New England Conservatory. She worked in the department of History together with Dr. Cemal Kafadar at Harvard University, and the department of Musicology with Professor Dr. Robert Labaree at New England Conservatory, where she also lectured on musicology and Ottoman Turkish Music. Starting in 1986, she taught undergraduate and graduate courses in qanun, musicology, ethnomusicology, systematic musicology, organology, music history, world music cultures, Ottoman-Turkish music, music and gender, and Mediterranean cultures at İTÜ Turkish Music State Conservatory, and ITU Institute of Social Sciences Erol Üçer Music Advanced Research Center.

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Gesture in Musical Declamation: An Intercultural Approach

ABSTRACT

This paper draws parallels between gesture in South Indian Carnatic singing practice, and rhetorical gesture used by orators and singers in 16th and 17th century Early Modern Europe. The paper begins by referencing relevant historical literature on the performance practices. In doing so, it identifies declamation in music as an ideal musical framework for gestured performance. The paper then practically addresses the role of gesture in present cross-cultural music performance practice using an artistic project, conceptualized and implemented by the author. The author proposes that performances of textually driven, dramatically intensive musical forms, such as the Carnatic Viruttam and Early Opera, would benefit from referencing gestures from a constellation of the experientially known and the historically acquired. The research also invites a consideration of pertinent issues on gesture and women performers in the context of Carnatic music.

KEYWORDS

Gesture
Musical declamation
Carnatic
Rhetoric
Intercultural
Women
Embodied

Aim and Research Framework

This study considers declamation in Carnatic music of South India and in 17th century Italian Early Opera through the lens of comparative historical musicology. The gestures used in these two cultures are scrutinized using theoretical and historical sources to build a cognitive substratum. Drawing on Crispin's (2015: 61) model of 'artistic practice as a process' in artistic research, the knowledge from the conceptual-theoretical substratum is applied to a practical intercultural framework. This approach also draws on elements of reflexive qualitative research in which 'the researcher becomes a part of the research process' (Flick, 2014: 17). The gestured declamations are documented and disseminated in the form of mediatized outputs. The study addresses the following research question: How to incorporate intercultural gesture in musical declamation using historical musicology and artistic practice as research?

Gesture in a Carnatic Concert

Gestures in vocal music serve as tools in communicating the semantic autonomy of the text. They also communicate the grace of the music to an audience and could aid in memory recall and self-expression on the part of the performer. Performers and teachers of music, over the centuries and across cultures, have recognized gesture as an inimitable part of represented and experienced music. Gesture in vocal and instrumental music is an emergent field of scholarship, as is evident from the edited volumes by Godøy & Leman (2010), and Gritten & King (2006, 2011). Over the years Jane Davidson has contributed significantly to the literature on gesture in music-making through her quantitative and qualitative approaches to performance analysis (Davidson, 1993, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2016; Davidson and Good, 2002; Clarke and Davidson, 1998). Gestures are regarded as an important parameter in performance analysis studies; as Rink (2014: 116) notes: "The physical actions of the performer not only inform but shape the analytical awareness that may emerge."

Rahaim (2008, 2012) and Leante (2014) have contributed to the development of a distinctive body of literature on gesture in Indian vocal performance and pedagogy. In the context of pedagogy of Carnatic music of South India, Pearson's (2013) study is vital in understanding gesture-phrase interaction in Carnatic violin teaching. Fatone et al. (2011: 212) argue that Carnatic musical phrases are 'spaces' within which 'physical movements' occur in practice. Pesch (1999) and Krishna (2013) consider Carnatic vocal

gestures as spontaneous expressions, inspired by a confluence of factors including the *gurus* (teachers) body language, the text, and Raga movement.

In this study, I begin to address gesture in vocal performance practice of Carnatic music by firstly considering a typical Carnatic *kutcheri* (concert) stage set-up. The main performer is seated centrally on the stage with legs folded. The accompaniment, such as the violin and *mridangam* (percussive instrument) are positioned on either side of the main artiste, and the *tanpura*, a drone that keeps pitch, is wielded by a player seated just behind the main artiste. The microphone plays the important role of amplifying the voice across the concert hall. The noteworthy aspect in this description is the fact that thus positioned, the vocalist does not move around. The hand gestures and facial expressions of a Carnatic vocalist are, therefore, the only extra-musical communicators. These gestures, though limited, entrain the audience, heightening the emotional involvement that they may experience when the performer sings in an impassioned manner. The indeterminate, improvisatory nature of gesture in a Carnatic performance could be understood through the following description: “though linked to what is being sung,” writes Matt Rahaim, “these movements are not determined by vocal action; nor are they taught explicitly, deliberately rehearsed, or tied to specific meanings” (2008: 325).

Carnatic musicians use their hands to metaphorically sketch the curvaceous and complex passages they navigate while singing. They also employ gesture to suggest, the importance of certain emotions underlying the text to the audience. The tip of the thumb connected to the index finger is used as a subtle gesture that indicates resting on a note or a prolonged holding of a particular pitch. When evocatively addressing a higher power, the singer uses louder tones and appeals skywards. When singing in the upper octaves, one can see the hands being raised higher, often above the shoulder, and the head tilted upward, as if in fervent prayer. It is common to see Carnatic singers close their eyes in meditative concentration, fixating their thought as well as that of the beholder, on either the subject matter that is being conveyed or on the feelings that the Raga (melody type) might invoke.

The prevalent notion that women singers are expected to refrain from gesticulating adds a layer of complexity to the firmament of gesture in Carnatic music. While I

subjectively refer to this issue by drawing on over two decades of personal concert singing experience, this pressing matter has been problematized objectively by several scholars/musicians including T. M. Krishna (2013) and Indira Menon (1999). I am one of the many women singers who are implicitly expected, by gurus, critics, and audiences alike, to invoke feeling in music through serenity and self-restraint. T. M. Krishna discusses this issue by situating it in the broader context of 'male chauvinism' in Carnatic music: "Men were considered strong singers with a robust interpretation... women personified the feminine side of music; their music was about elegance, beauty and tenderness" (Krishna, 2013: 320).

Krishna goes on to argue that a 'cultivated demureness' in women Carnatic singers is a phenomenon that may be linked to the process of 'sanctification' of Carnatic music, orchestrated in the mid-20th century. The move towards recrafting the identity of Carnatic music has had a negative impact on the attitude of the system towards women singers in general, and those who express themselves with gesture, in particular (2013: 322). While the 'sanctification' process itself is discussed in a little more detail in the ensuing section on the history of gestured music, this blog post could draw attention to the dismissive and prejudicial attitude of certain concert-goers towards women performers who gesture in song:

I get irritated when I see her [Aruna Sairam's] gimmicks on stage. Too much artificial expression and excessive movement of the hand puts me off... Totally at loggerheads with what Carnatic music stands for – a modest and serene expression of one's love for *God*. She has got an awesome voice and has had some excellent training for sure, but her arrogant body language which somehow is not camouflaged by her smile, spoils everything. M. S. Subbulakshmi for all the world-wide fan following and sweet voice always maintained a modest appearance on stage. (Sankar, 2009 Emphasis mine.)

It is useful to clarify here that the notion of gesture in the context of a Carnatic music performance is interestingly very different from that implied in traditional dance or musico-dramatic contexts. Gestures used in musical theatre such as '*Bhagavatha Mela*' and embedded story-telling traditions such as '*Kathakalakshepa*' weave together normative gestures used in *Natya* (dance) and spontaneous, intuitive and musically inspired gestures.

Rationale for Exploring Gesture in the Carnatic Context

In the Indian context, gesture is best regarded through the lens of its traditional dance forms such as the Bharatanatya, Kuchipudi or Mohiniyattam.¹ Although the present discourse relates to the use of gesture in singing, a cursory glance at the notions of gesture in the Indian performance scenario reveals that gesture is considered a dancer's domain, a realm into which the singer does not infringe.

Underpinning this statement are a set of facts on the nature of music for dance recitals. In a traditional dance performance, seated behind the curtains or unobtrusively on the sidelines, is a music party.² In mainstream Indian performance practice, therefore, the singer is a music provider whose corporeal expressions are secondary to the sonic outputs, whether the context is one of solo performance or otherwise. Thus, reflecting on 'music for dance' opens two implications: one, the voice is a palette of emotions that can 'act' using word and melody; two, a lexicon of gestures could be developed by the singer as a personalized tool-kit, thus opening up an additional identity for the singer: that of an embodied performer. When I consider Vatsyayan (1963: 33), 'music organizes sound to create aesthetic state, dance does the same through human form', I am compelled to claim that gestured music could be as potent a human form of communication as dance. The gestures of a singer are a visual manifestation of their musical persona and an embodied approach to Carnatic music could empower the performer and the audience.

Culturally diverse musical forms that have a common feature of being significantly dependent on the emotive content of the text, such as the *Viruttam* in Carnatic music and the *recitar cantando* (sung-speech style of rhetorical delivery) in 17th century Early Opera, may be combined with associated gesture to create an expressive artistic output. Such a hybridized form could present a Carnatic singer as an intercultural embodied performer.

¹ These forms use *mudras* (emblematic depictions using fingers) and *hastas* (hand gestures) as prescribed in treatises on performance including the seminal *Natyasastra*.

² The singer vocalizes, while the dancer occupies center stage and expresses the passions through gestures and embodied movement. See Soneji (2012).

History of Gesture: Carnatic Performance Practice, Theatre and Films

A cursory glance into the past interestingly reveals that a confluence of embodied movement and singing was not entirely absent in the history of Carnatic performance, particularly with regards to pioneering women performers of the early twentieth century. T. Balasaraswati, a celebrated mid-twentieth century performer of both Bharatanatyam and vocal music, sang poignant poetry in a variety of South Indian languages including Tamil and Telugu, in a manner that fused the essence of the sister arts, *Nayta* (dance) and *Sangita* (music). Her style was hailed as unique. As she articulated the music, she employed graceful bodily movements, mudras, a range of facial expressions, and liveliness in manner, as Knight (2010) and Narayanan Menon (1963) both observe. Her impassioned renditions of repertoire such as *Padam* or *Javali* (love poems for the God) were vivid and exciting³. Balasaraswati is the grand-daughter of an exemplary musician, Vina Dhanammal and the representative of a long tradition of temple courtesans (*devadasis*) who were known for their embodied practice of Carnatic music and dance. However, the legislation on *devadasis* between 1930 and 1947 abolished the *devadasi* system. While the *devadasis* were considered the custodians of this kind of artistic depiction, they were shunned away by the powerful sections of society due to the tradition that considered them married to 'god'. As many an inquiry asserts, including the works of Soneji (2011) and Anandhi (2000), the community experienced disenfranchisement in the wake of post-colonial prejudices. T. M. Krishna (2013) argues that these events were closely tied to the redefining of Carnatic music as an art form for the elite. These developments also contributed to the emergence of organizations that would eventually become the custodians of Carnatic music, the '*sabhas*'. The performance practice that was originally associated with temples was recontextualized in the *sabha* settings. The tragic aspect in all this was that, the newly designed identity of the Carnatic form quelled the role of embodied expression in represented music - a loss for the art as well as artists. T. M. Krishna suggests that "this revisionism gave the music and its practices access to a moral high ground: it was not some tawdry act... but a divine act practiced by saintly figures and respectable personalities" (2013: 316).

³ Balasaraswati (1978: 111) writes, 'The mudras of mantra sastras are same as the hand gestures in Bharatanatyam' and discusses '*Sringara*', the emotion of love. Also, see Poursine (1991).

The history of musical expression in the context of Indian music, however, is informed by the oldest surviving authoritative Sanskrit treatise on Indian theatre and performance, the *Natyasastra* (NS). The NS, attributed to the sage Bharata, among several other things, is a discursive work on 'action' in performance.⁴ This text, surviving as manuscripts containing around 6000 verses arranged into 36 chapters, is said to have been created between 200 BCE to 200 CE. The verses in NS collate music, acting, instruments and dance in the context of 'stage', accordingly reinstating the need to tie these elements together, not only for a historically informed approach to performance, but also for a moving, empowered, and unfettered one.

Gesture in Theatre and Films

By briefly examining the history of musical drama in the Tamil language, the vernacular of Tamil Nadu, we understand that, in the early twentieth century, staged productions featured theatre performers such as K. B. Sundarambal and Vasanthakokilam who, in addition to being exceptional Carnatic singers were also gifted performer/actors. They vocalized roles from Indian mythology with convincing stagecraft. The stories for the plays were derived from treatises such as the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Interspersed with dialogue, delivered in a manner of elevated speech, the plays featured declamatory songs.⁵

With the advent of films, some of these phenomenal singer/actors would go on to become movie stars (Baskaran, 2013: 130). M. S. Subbulakshmi (MS) is one such example. One of the most celebrated singers of Carnatic music, MS began her musical career by acting and singing in movies, including *Seva Sadanam* (1938), *Savitri* (1941) and *Meera* (1945). George (2016) in an overview of her life as a musician, suggests that her confidence and ability to entrain stemmed from her earlier stint in cinema and musical theatre. MS, despite her success on the silver screen, entirely detached herself

⁴ *Rasa* (emotion) in music, dance and drama, has been studied by numerous scholars including Schechner (2001), Brown (2005) and Mason (2006). Nair (2014) mentions dramatic devices, '*angam*', that refer to interactions between body movements and delivery of text. Madhavan (2016: 100-131) mentions '*tauryatrikam*' as a 'collective' for dance, music and percussion.

⁵ My nonagenarian grandmother fondly recalls the touring theatre visiting her little village of Kodumudi in Southern India in the late 1930s. The advertisers used to bellow the names of the key performers for the night through street loudspeakers. M. K. Thyagaraja Bhagavathar and T. R. Rajakumari were very popular for their sung play *Pavalakodi*. She recounts the grandeur in make-up, costumes and jewelry. The excitement in witnessing the singer/performer come alive on stage would be palpable, she recalls.

from the singer-actress image and immersed herself into the traditional framework of the Carnatic *kutcheri*. Based on these incidents that shaped the history of Carnatic practice as we know it today, I argue that, if Carnatic *kutcheri* music is to be approached as a historically informed performance, it would have to incorporate gesture.

Viruttam: Musical Declamation that Invites Gesture

A musical form that could invite the use of gesture, planned and spontaneous, within the paradigm of Carnatic music identifies as the *Viruttam*. A *Viruttam* is a form wherein selected verses from poignant poetry are declaimed by the singer. The nature of the text dictates the internal meter, syllabic extensions or contractions, punctuations, pauses, sighs, and vocal dynamics. Musically and rhetorically, *Viruttam* appropriates features from oration, versification and classical rhetoric. A persuasive stylized speech-like song that does not fall under the constraints of a time signature, but allows for a free-flowing pulse-based steering forward-movement, characterizes the *Viruttam*. “This technique is about presenting poetic verse in the free-flowing form without tala.... Before rendering it in the musical form, he [the musician] should have absorbed the text of the poetry... every word in the text.” (Krishna, 2013: 132).

The musical form *Viruttam* has much in common with earlier dramatic singing practices, in that it privileges textual meaning. The underlying constructs of the *Viruttam* necessitate an embodied involvement of the singer. This could also be substantiated by referencing the origins of the *Viruttam* (Gurumurthy, 1994). The *Viruttam* is said to have its origins across the broad contexts of musical theatre, dance, liturgy, as well as *Harikatha*: the performing art of storytelling that interweaves monody, dance, drama and musical interludes.⁶ C. Saraswati Bai and C. Banni Bai were two women performers who ‘overcame male prejudices’ and established themselves in the storytelling tradition that represented a confluence of music, gesture and drama. Pesch observes:

In Harikatha, exceedingly diverse elements drawn from traditions of India, have been dramatized by learned performers (bhagavathar) and interlaced with attractive songs, accompanied by gestures (mudra), facial expression

⁶ In Harikatha a single *Bhagavathar* sings and acts. Performing art forms such as *Koodi Attam*, *Talamadale*, *Yakshagana* and *Bhagavatha Mela Nataka* are thematically related to *Harikatha*: several characters appear, dressed in finery, act and sing.

(abhinaya) and rhythmic movements (nrta) derived from the techniques of dance and drama. (1999: 170)

Using gestures, deliberate as well as spontaneous, early exponents could regulate, restrain and then cathartically release the underlying lyrical and raga-based emotions ever so gently in musico-dramatic contexts; a craft from which the *Viruttam* could also benefit.

Musical Declamation in Early Modern Europe and Rhetorical Gesture

My broader research interests lie in drawing parallels between declamation in early 17th century Italian musical drama, and the *Viruttam* form. Music, oration and poetry were considered 'sister arts' in Early Modern Europe. Composers who were influenced by humanism wished to revive the music and tragedies of Greek antiquity by adapting them to a modern, monody-based style, the *stilo moderno* (Palisca, 1985). It was at this time that Claudio Monteverdi, acknowledged as the father of Opera, came upon a style of composition which he referred to as the *Seconda Practica*, a practice that privileged the primacy of text over rules of harmony. Impassioned delivery of poetry as intoned speech, congealed with musical features such as dissonances, and the figured bass, buttressed by visually compelling gestures made his musical dramas the defining models for the genre of 'Opera'. Hailed as the first Opera, Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607) was interestingly premiered before the *Accademia degli invaghiti*, an elite gathering of nobles and scholars who were experts in oration and versification. The sung-speech form of declamatory writing was a representation of natural emotions in music, known in the Florentine circles as the *recitar cantando per stilo rappresentativo* (Pirrota & Povoledo, 1994; Carter, 2002). An investigation into the visual aspects of the *rappresentazione per recitar cantando* (musical drama represented through sung speech) reveals extensive literature on gesture in Early Modern Europe. Gesture in the context of 17th century Italian sung-speech has several features in common with historical gesture in represented music in the South Indian context. Toft (2014) encourages Opera singers of the present age to embrace their past through gesture, just as I seek to revisit the embodied past of Carnatic music using gesture.

The eyes and ears became the windows to the soul, and orators and singers drew upon a vast arsenal of skills to help them penetrate deeply into the soul, moving it to experience whatever passions the text contained. I encourage

singers today to acquire the same skills that singers in the sixteenth century possessed and to re-create those practices that allow us to place our intuitive emotional responses to both solo and part songs in a framework derived from the documents that transmit sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century culture to us. (Toft, 2014: 198)

Actio: The sixth limb in Classical rhetoric

There is a vast body of literature on *'actio'*, action in speech and song, particularly originating from England and Italy, around the 16th and 17th centuries. Heywood (1612), Wright (1604) and Bulwer (1644) are primary sources that throw light on the facial, head and hand movements prevalent at the time. Fraunce's (1588) writings on the varied kinds of tilts of the head while singing and Le Faucher's (1657) overview of gesture for vocal music, drawing on Bulwer's earlier work, are also informants of the close ties between persuasive declamation and singing at the time.

Bend and wrest your arm and hands to the right, to the left, and to every part, that having made them obedient unto you, upon a sudden and the least signification of the mind you may show the glittering orbs of heaven and the gaping jaws of earth... [so that] you may be ready for all variety of speech. (Bulwer, 1644: 246 – 47, as cited in Toft, 2014: 185)

Rhetorical devices used in oration were widely employed by singers of the 16th and 17th centuries, for expressive appeal. In Castigliano's (1528) *Il Cortegiano*, dealing with aspects of body language befitting a courtier, he advised graceful nonchalance (*sprezzatura*) in an orator/declamatory performer. This attribute became associated with the art of noble singing, *'il nobile sprezzatura'*, as Caccini's (1602) preface for *Le nuove musiche* would indicate. In the preface to his musical drama, *'La rappresentazione'*, Emilio Cavaleri (1600) suggests that singers use entraining facial expressions while enunciating musical text.

Quintilian, in his 1st century CE treatise on Classical rhetoric shares his views on how an orator/performer could effectively identify and use the following as devices to heighten drama in the delivery:

- Points at which to pause and breathe.

- Points of punctuation (comma, semicolon, full stop, *esclamazione*, and questions) as short stops between phrases.
- Repetition for emphasis.
- Lower or higher voice levels depending on intensity of subject matter.
- Modulations in voice, variations in tempo, agitation, and speaking 'aside', softly.
- Head, facial, hand and embodied movements that complement emotion. (without being overtly demonstrative)

Accordingly, the fathers of classical rhetoric divided the subject of rhetoric into five distinct areas: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio* or *decoratio*, *memoria*, and *pronunciatio*. In *inventio*, the orator found and researched the topic that he wished to expand upon, *dispositio* was about ordering the information, *elocutio* dealt with choosing appropriate words and phrases that would complement the delivery, while *memoria* involved memorizing for public delivery. *Pronunciatio* governed the use of dramatic devices that enhanced the impact of the actual delivery. *Actio*, aptly nominated as the sixth limb of classical rhetoric, would ensure effectiveness and transferability of the delivery.

Just as dance-based theatrical forms, such as the *Kuravanji* and *Harikatha*, were the forerunners of represented music in India, ostentatious visual representations of music, the *intermedi*, were considered by some as the forerunners of Opera (Palisca, 1989). The *intermedi* were popular in provinces such as Florence even as early as the late 1400s. Intermedi were essentially short capsules of drama in music, which were interspersed in stage plays to break the monotony of spoken word, and to provide colorful entertainment. *Intermedi* were marked by elaborate costumes, and noisy stage machinery, designed for grand entrances of actor/singers (Carter, 2002).

It is noteworthy, that like the Indian theatre actors, who were also spectacular singers (as discussed in the earlier section), the singers of the 16th and 17th century musical dramas were fine actors. They honed their skills in the tragicomedy productions of the times, known as *Commedia dell'arte*. Possessing a good grasp of stagecraft, they were sought after by composers and *doges* (dukes) not only for their vocalizing abilities, but also for their compelling acting skills and charming personalities. Monteverdi's second

opera, Arianna (1608), had the title role being played by the well-known *Commedia dell'arte* actress of the time, Virginia Ramponi Andreini. Anna Renzi (Ottavia in Monteverdi's 1643 opera, *Poppea*), in her adventurous stint in Venice, was highly regarded as a performer, not least for her acting abilities. Arianna's lament, the only surviving part of the opera today, it is said, was delivered with great emotional investment on the part of the singer, as understood from Federico Follino's account of the premiere:

...in ogni sua parte riuscì `più che mirabile, nel lamento, che fece Arianna sopra lo scoglio, abbandonata da Teseo, il quale fu` rappresentato con tanto affetto, e con sì` pietosi modi, che non si trovò ascoltante alcuno, che non s'intenerisse, ne` fu` pur una Dama, che non versasse qualche lagrimata al suo bel pianto. (Follino, 1608: 29)

...the marvelous lament which Arianna made on the rocky outcrop, abandoned by Teseo, performed as it was with such affection, and with such piteous gestures that there was not a single listener whose heart was not touched, nor was there a single lady who did not shed a small tear at her exquisite lament.

The purpose of this discourse is not so much to illustrate the parallels between the two forms of musical declamation and their histories, but rather to reinforce the fact that in researching the histories of these genres, I have realized that gestures have been highly regarded as performance parameters in both of these styles. Theoretical research into the historical practices of gestured declamation in both the Indian tradition as well as in Early Opera has yielded this as a key finding. The ensuing section of the paper relates to the artistic processes that include the interpretation of the researched knowledge using artistic practice as a method and the generation of new insights and therefore new knowledge in the form of an artistic output.

The Cross-Cultural Project: Artistic Paradigm

While the role of gesture in Early Opera inspired me to experiment with gesture in my own practice, the turbulent history of gesture in Carnatic music gave me reason to pursue this line of research. An artistic project on realizing the *Viruttam* form, combining elements of music, gesture, drama and compositional devices from the

Carnatic and early 17th century declamatory traditions, was a fertile ground for me to imbibe, and implement a hybridized assortment of gestures that were drawn from a range of: a) spontaneous gestures from Carnatic *kutcheri* practice b) embodied gestures from Carnatic performance history c) and 17th century rhetorical gestures.

I analyzed the historical and practice-based literature by juxtaposing them against the problematized issues. In the practical paradigm, I experienced the artistic processes against the relief of the knowledge drawn from historical musicology. I have drawn on performance-based case studies such as those of Kaleva (2014) on Monteverdi's *Arianna* and Davidson (2016) on Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* in adopting a process-intensive approach.

Content selection for declamation

My selection of poetry for the project was influenced by the history of the *Viruttam* as well as the history around the compositional practice of the *recitar cantando* style. In the *Viruttam*, the verses need to be communicated to the listener with the intent to 'move' and 'delight' (analogous to *movere* and *dilettare* in high and mid-level rhetorical styles respectively). To present a mixed style that could move and delight, I turned to one of the many points of origin of the *Viruttam*, liturgical verses. Whether a *Viruttam* is sung in a concert setting with embellishments and *melisma* (like the 'elaborate strophic variation model' of Monteverdi's) or as a recitative in a temple ritual, the 'affect' of the poetry (*bhava*) is at the epicenter of the representation. In Southern India, Tamil spiritual verses, including the *Tevaram* and *Divyaprabandham* are sung in *Shaivite* (devoted to Lord Shiva) and *Vaishnavite* (devoted to Lord Vishnu) liturgical settings respectively. *Alwars*, the devotee/composers, sang numerous *Vaishnavite* hymns between the 7th and 11th centuries A.D. One of the prominent *Alwars*, the only woman composer/devotee among them, was Sri Andal. Sri Andal composed thirty verses of poetry in the 11th century A.D. These verses were addressed to her friends, the *gopis*, who were also devoted to Lord Krishna (Chabria & Shankar, 2016). The emotions that surface in Andal's writings are not confined to the realm of '*Bhakti*' (devotion, surrender), but rather cover a wide spectrum of emotions. She exclaims, cries, passionately declares her love, chides, complains, regales, laments, sighs, alludes to mythology, instructs and laughs, as she dynamically communicates her zeal for worship to her friends and fellow villagers. This outpouring is known as the 'Thiruppavai'.

The *Thiruppavai* have been sung and recorded by a prominent artiste of Carnatic music, Sri. Ariyakkudi Ramanuja Iyengar, who tuned the thirty verses into thirty different ragas.

However, some liturgical experts and linguistic scholars believe that in his version, the melody takes precedence over text and emotion, in several instances. Furthermore, it has been noted that certain lines have been split such that, the melodic movement is privileged over the meaning. In such instances the message conveyed becomes incomplete or misinterpreted. I interviewed the notable *Thiruppavai* scholar, Dr. M. A. Venkatakrishnan, who specifically pointed out certain verses (Verse 15) that could be sung differently; in a manner that conflates the poetic dictum with the expressive intent of Andal. Based on his inputs, and on my personal artistic preference, I selected five octet verses from the set for composition as musical declamation. The five verses chosen have significant dramatic content and startling dialogues within their textual structure, which could manifest as moments of intense and heated exchanges between Andal and her friends.

That Andal's *Thiruppavai* are devotional is unequivocal, but she goes through a broad spectrum of emotions that express the verisimilitude of life. Belonging to an age where women did not have much of a voice in society, Andal may be recognized as an audacious persona who deems it her birthright to be demonstrative and unhindered in her expressions. I felt compelled to peel back the several layers of inhibition that I had acquired, over the years, in playing the role of a self-controlled, calm Carnatic singer. I decided to articulate, gesture, sway and vicariously experience Andal's melodrama.

Interpretive processes

I composed tunes for the selected verses. I transliterated the lyrics of the verses from Tamil to English, informed by five sessions of meetings with Dr. M. A. Venkatakrishnan in Chennai in December 2016. I then identified keywords/phrases in Tamil and English that referenced the points in the poetry that needed reinforcement through gesture. Verse 15 is selected as an exemplar for the purposes of this paper. The affective phrases from verse 15 were identified and have been underlined in *Table 1*. Drawing on Davidson's (2016: 179) approach to recreating *L'Orfeo* with rhetorical gestures, where 'the singers were encouraged to learn specific postures and gestures to accompany

affective phrases' by referring to Bulwer's 1644 treatise on gesture, *Chirologia or the Natural Language of the Hand*, I engaged in identifying the specific gestures that mirrored, most effectively, the affective phrases. In creating an 'epistemic object' (Crispin, 2014: 142-144) that could be ploughed into the artistic experimental system, I drew up a tablature mapping the phrase – emotion – gesture combination, referring to Bulwer's (1644; 2003) lexicon of rhetorical gestures, and Toft's (2014: 188-196) interpretation of them. *Table 2* shows each of these pivotal affective phrases/words, and the rhetorical gestures that they could be aligned with. The tabulation lists ten to fifteen pivotal rhetoric gestures, with overlap.

I drew from a decade of training in *Bharatanatyam*, and consulted with dancer colleagues on how best to integrate certain key *Natya* mudras with the corresponding rhetorical gestures. Soneji's (2012) depictions were most useful in this exercise. From the *Natya* tradition, I used a combination of *Samyuta* (double-handed) and *Asamyuta* (single-handed) *hastas*. *Hastas*, the palm and finger gestures, such as the '*Soochi*', to point at someone or something, mapped to '*Indico*'; '*Pataka*', to portray stillness and being, mapped to several palm-based rhetorical gestures including '*Castigo*' and '*Benevolentiam Ostendit*'; '*Vandanam*', palms folded together in prayer, mapped to '*Oro*', and the '*Mushti*', the clenched fist to signify anger and strength, mapped to '*Minor*', to name a few. I choreographed key portions of the piece, phrase by phrase. I also allowed for moments in the piece that were self-reflecting and introspective. It was in these moments that the spontaneous, experiential gestures came to the surface.

In my daily practice during the preparatory period, which spanned around a month, I interspersed these gestures with personal facial expressions that were innate to my natural singing practice. I modified and improvised upon the combined expressions, assimilating them into a stream of personalized movement, as suggested in Gritten & King (2006). I was inspired by the readings of Calcagno (2002) on the voice-led imitation of natural emotions in Monteverdi, and applied *sung-speech* principles to my singing. I also considered Bulwer's recommendations that hand gestures must not change frequently within the text and that their change must correspond to the introduction of new affectations.

To situate these activities within the rigorous framework of methodology, I drew on Crispin's approach to Artistic Research as a process:

The artist-researcher's internal dialogue between subjective musical instinct and cognitive rationale is both a valuable methodological tool and, potentially, something that can contribute to the output of the research process. (Crispin, 2015: 79)

Accordingly, I video recorded the rehearsals and reflected on them. These reflections were part of the process that guided my conscious engagement with the gestures, the music, and the text in a reflexive manner. I recognised the knowledge that I had gathered in engaging with the two systems of music through theory and practice, and channelled the insights acquired to craft my interpretations, thereby generating a cycle of new insights. The circuit of knowledge-interpretation-knowledge situated the practice in a research paradigm (Austbø, Crispin & Sjøvaag, 2015). I also used talk-aloud protocols during and after the practice sessions to narrate my experiences and observations (Davidson & Good, 2002).

Initially, I had experienced certain difficulties in executing the sequenced gestures in real-time, and these were voiced in the talk-aloud protocols.

There is a lot going on! I need to remember the words, the feeling evoked, and the gesture, while singing...focusing on my voice production as well. Recalling the gesture as I sing is a struggle. I sometimes stop, think and start again. It all needs to come together, naturally. I am trying to connect the gestures with the real emotion and induce a connection to the music... (Author, Talk-aloud Protocol, 3rd April, 2016)

This resonates with Kaleva's field observations while using rhetorical gestures:

This 'fitting in of the gestures' initially slowed down the tempo. The slower tempo during the initial rehearsals was due to the time needed to remember and execute the gestures. This affected the continuo realization; specifically, that of the harpsichord, which had to 'fill in' the chords because the instrument does not sustain. All the musicians in this project remarked that including the gestures and working with them made the overall performance of the music more deliberate. (Kaleva, 2014: 227)

A harpsichord was used to realize, support and guide the harmony that the vocal line presented. I conducted three sessions of rehearsals in conjunction with a Brisbane-based harpsichordist, Juanita Simmonds. A transcribed excerpt from the talk-aloud reflection relates to this final phase:

As we approach the final rehearsal I feel a unison in my gestures, voice, and the bass realization. I felt the uncertainty melt away and am focused on the whole rather than the fragments of gesture. (Author, Talk-aloud protocol, April 29th, 2016)

In an interview soon after the recording, the harpsichord accompanist stated that even as she referred to the text, score and meaning, she found it very helpful to be informed by the gestural cues.

The expressed gesture was very useful for me... I felt connected to the text, the drama and emotion. I do not understand Tamil, but I could feel the intensity. I felt that I could easily transfer that experience on to my playing. (Juanita Simmonds, Personal interview, May 24th, 2016)

During the filming and recording of the media, my attire consisted of traditional Indian formal wear, the silk *saree*. I wore makeup and appropriate jewelry. I performed standing up. The recording was carried out in May 2017 at the 'Immersd' recording studio, at the Queensland Conservatorium, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia as part of my doctoral research work. Constraints in time and resources did not allow for a live performance. However, the video clips were screened before a small audience of around 20 members in August, 2017, in Brisbane. The audience members consisted of those acquainted with Carnatic practice as well as Western musicians and students of Western music. For ethical reasons, the audience members were not treated as a source of data for the study. Their observations indicated that some of them thought it was 'engaging' and 'new', while others found it 'theatrical' and 'hard to follow'. A discussion around the compositional aspects of this work is beyond the scope of this paper.

The [video clip appended](#) shows the artistic output for verse 15 in Raga *Lathangi*.

Verse 15: 'ELLE iLangkiLiye': Context

This hymn is a dialogue between Andal and her friend, who is deep in slumber. Andal tries to wake her, chiding her. As the conversation progresses, Andal grows tired of the clever repartees that counter her sincere pleas. She is annoyed at her friend's tardiness, and at her own haplessness, which is delaying the entourage for the morning prayers. In the phonetic interpretation of the Tamil text, capitals are used to represent elongation in vowels, and hardness of sound in consonants.

Table 1. Lyric and meaning

Line from Thiruppavai Verse 15	English transliteration
<u>e</u> llE! iLangkiLiye! <u>i</u> nnam uRangkuDhiyO!	Andal: <u>H</u> ello! Parrot like pretty girl! <u>S</u> till sleeping?
sillenRu azhaiyEnmin! nangkaimIr! pOtharkinREn	Friend: Do not call me in such chilling tones! I will come, in my own time.
vallai un katturaigaL paNdE un vAy aRidhum!	You are well-versed in coming up with excuses for your laziness, enough with that!
VallIrgaL nIngaLE! NAnE thAn Ayiduga	You are stubborn! (Aside, <u>crestfallen</u>) Maybe it's my <u>bad</u> luck to be arguing with you!
Ollai nI pOdhaY unakkenna vERudaiyai?	Andal: Come on now, get ready to leave! What else could be this interesting!
ellArum pOndhArO? pOndhAr pOndheNNikkoL	Friend: What about the others? Have they all left? Andal: (Exasperated) Yes! They have all left already.
vallAnai konRAnai mARRArAi mARRazhikka vallAnai <u>m</u> Ayanaip <u>p</u> AdElOr empAvAy	Andal (<u>entreats, with devotion</u>): Awake dear girl, and sing the praises of the magical Lord who destroys powerful demons and evil-doers.

Table 2. Phrase-emotion-gesture matrix

Key Word/phrase	Emotion/content conveyed	Rhetorical gesture (Bulwer plate number, letter)	Gesture description
Elle! ...Innum	Addressing, with emphasis, urgency	Castigo (3.2, E) Indico (3.4, F) Impatientia prodo (3.2, L)	Chiding using palm Pointing with index finger Touching forehead, impatience.
Sillendru.....pOdarkindrEn	Cool and stubborn	Terrorem Incutio (3.4, G)	Index finger pointed upwards, intimidating.
Un VAY aridhum	Annoyance, accusation	Castigo (3.2, E) Auxilium fero (3.2, B) Indignatione timeo (3.2, R)	Using palm facing the addressee. Clasping wrist of one hand with another. Drooping hand (all signify irritation nervousness).
Vallirgal	Anger, accusation	Minor (3.1, Y)	Clenching the fist, to threaten.
Nane thAn	Self-depraction, acceptance, crestfallen, helpless	Benevolentiam Ostendit (3.3, R) Tristi animi signo (3.1, K) Despero (3.1, H)	Both palms directed towards self, accepting. Intertwined fingers of both hands, anguished. Palms of both hands flaccid.
Unakenna	Questioning	Veto (3.4, L) Attentionem poscit (3.5, N)	Pointing with a curved finger, disapproving. Index finger, pointed upward, front facing addressee, warning.
Ellarum	Referring to the outside	Indico (3.4, F)	Index finger, pointed outward, moving.
Pondhar	Exasperation, dislike	Terrorem Incutio (3.4, G)	Index finger, pointed upwards, side facing the addressee, irritation.

KondrAnai, vallAnai	Slaying the violent demon, making a case	Minor (3.1, Y) Distinguet (3.5, G) Contraria distinguet (3.5, Z)	Clenching the fist, referring to power. Two fingers distinctly separated. Thumb touching the index finger tip, palm pointing upwards.
mAyanai pAdelor empAvAi	Devotion to God, surrender	Admiror (3.1, D) Hortatur (3.3, G) Supplicor (3.1, A) Assevero (3.1, S) Benedictione dimittit (3.3, Z) Oro (3.1, B)	Palms forming a 'U', admiring. Palm open, thrown up in proclamation. Palms upward, facing each other, advising. Palms overhead, facing addressee, declaring. Palms facing addressee in blessing. Palms touching, facing each other, in prayer.

Outcomes and Future Research Possibilities

The interpretive approach yielded certain themes that warrant deliberation. These are reported here as outcomes, in addition to the artistic outcome. The most prominent learning experience that emerged was the fact that remembering and executing the deliberately sequenced gestures was an act that required practice and time. Furthermore, I realized that my actions surfaced as an integrated whole that referenced the studied gestures, but expressed them as an experienced extension of the vocalization. In creating this artistic output, I experienced the intertwined existence of music, theatre, and embodied performance as a collective. This study therefore addresses pertinent concerns such as these: 'While performance-oriented scholars spurn music, music-oriented scholars generally spurn performance' (Auslander, 2006: 261).

The overarching theme that emerges from this study is that a gesture-based approach to music-making is an empowering act, not least for women performers. The feeling of empowerment that I derive from a gesture-based engagement with music not only benefits my own practice, but also propels it into the broader context of several

similarly conceived practices that collectively hold the power to reconfigure the role of women in performing arts today (Cusick, 1994).

The next stage of this study would involve dissemination of the artistic output to a broader community by publishing the videos online with supplementary lyrics in Tamil and English. A broader qualitative study could assess the audience reactions to this project. Accordingly, a live performance before a multicultural audience is in the planning stages. Further research in the field of gesture and music, particularly in the context of women performers, could address latent issues on gender in performance, particularly in the Indian context. In facilitating a symbiotic co-existence between the sister arts as well as between intercultural musico-dramatic forms, this hybridized approach to music and gesture anticipates cultural integration on one hand, and gender equality on the other.

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Representing Musical Identities of Children with Migrant Background – An Example from the Research Project *Music without Borders**

ABSTRACT

The growing presence of heterogeneous populations in most European countries has resulted in increased interest in rethinking systems of compulsory education for citizens, especially for pupils from migrant backgrounds. This was the starting point for the research project *Music without Borders: Multilingualism in music (bi- and/or multi-musicality) and understanding the 'other' and the unfamiliar (2015-2017)*.

Challenges and limitations that ethnomusicologists have encountered during the operation, as well as strategies for conducting research on musical identities of pupils with migrant background will be discussed. Thereafter, the audio- and songbook *Sieben Blätter und ein Stein (Seven Leaves and one Stone)*, consisting of a printed story with drawings by pupils, and two music CDs will be presented as an outcome of this project. In the songbook, research findings are condensed into an artistic pedagogical product for a broader audience that aims to empower underprivileged Austrian pupils with migrant backgrounds.

KEYWORDS

Intercultural learning

Intercultural communication

Bi-musicality

Austrian education

Pupils

Pupils with migrant background

Migration in Austria

Multiculturalism

* In the beginning, the research project was conducted by its initiator Hande Sağlam who, after six months, handed it over to Wei-Ya Lin. Some parts of this article refer to and integrate Sağlam's written reports, source: <https://www.MDW.ac.at/fsi/?PageId=4191> (accessed on 25.11.2017).

Introduction to the Austrian Education System

The origins of the Austrian public school system go back to the reign of Empress Maria Theresia, who identified illiteracy as a political problem that could be improved by the government through compulsory education. Public schooling was therefore established in 1774. Then, six years of primary school were obligatory for every citizen in Austria. With the Compulsory Education Act of 1962, compulsory schooling was extended to its present-day duration of nine years.

Nowadays, the so-called 'differentiated education system' in Austria enforces children and parents to choose either an elitist 'gymnasium (academic secondary school)' which prepares for a university program or the 'general secondary school and new secondary school' which prepares for vocational programs. Figure 1 shows that at age ten, pupils are divided into these three different categories. This division serves as a filtering mechanism based on pupils' performance and scores during the last year (fourth grade) in elementary school. Even though at the age of fourteen pupils could theoretically change from the general or new secondary schools to academic secondary schools or colleges for higher vocational education in order to get admitted to university, practically, the requirements for such a change are highly challenging. Therefore, it is impossible for most pupils to qualify. This two-track secondary system has been subject to repeated criticism, especially for its rigidity of early selection and the inherent absence of equal opportunities (Wojnesitz, 2010; Riedl, 2015; Pichler, 2017). Consequently, dualities like elitist versus mass education, merit-based differentiation versus equality of opportunities, and performance-oriented versus inclusion-oriented teaching prevail in political debates regarding the Austrian educational system.

On the other hand, the growing presence of heterogeneous populations in most European countries has caused increased interest in rethinking systems of compulsory education for citizens, especially for pupils with migrant backgrounds. As Auerheimer (2007) points out, three developments challenge contemporary pedagogical discourse in Europe. Firstly, structural changes in societies occur due to immigration. Secondly, the European unification process likewise causes structural challenges to established systems. Finally, the global economic integration, that is, the globalization of markets and the accompanying media networks, which in turn, results in the globalization of risks, increasingly requires political cooperation. Therefore, urgent implementation of

intercultural learning in the contemporary compulsory education system has been suggested (see Auernheimer, 2007: 13).

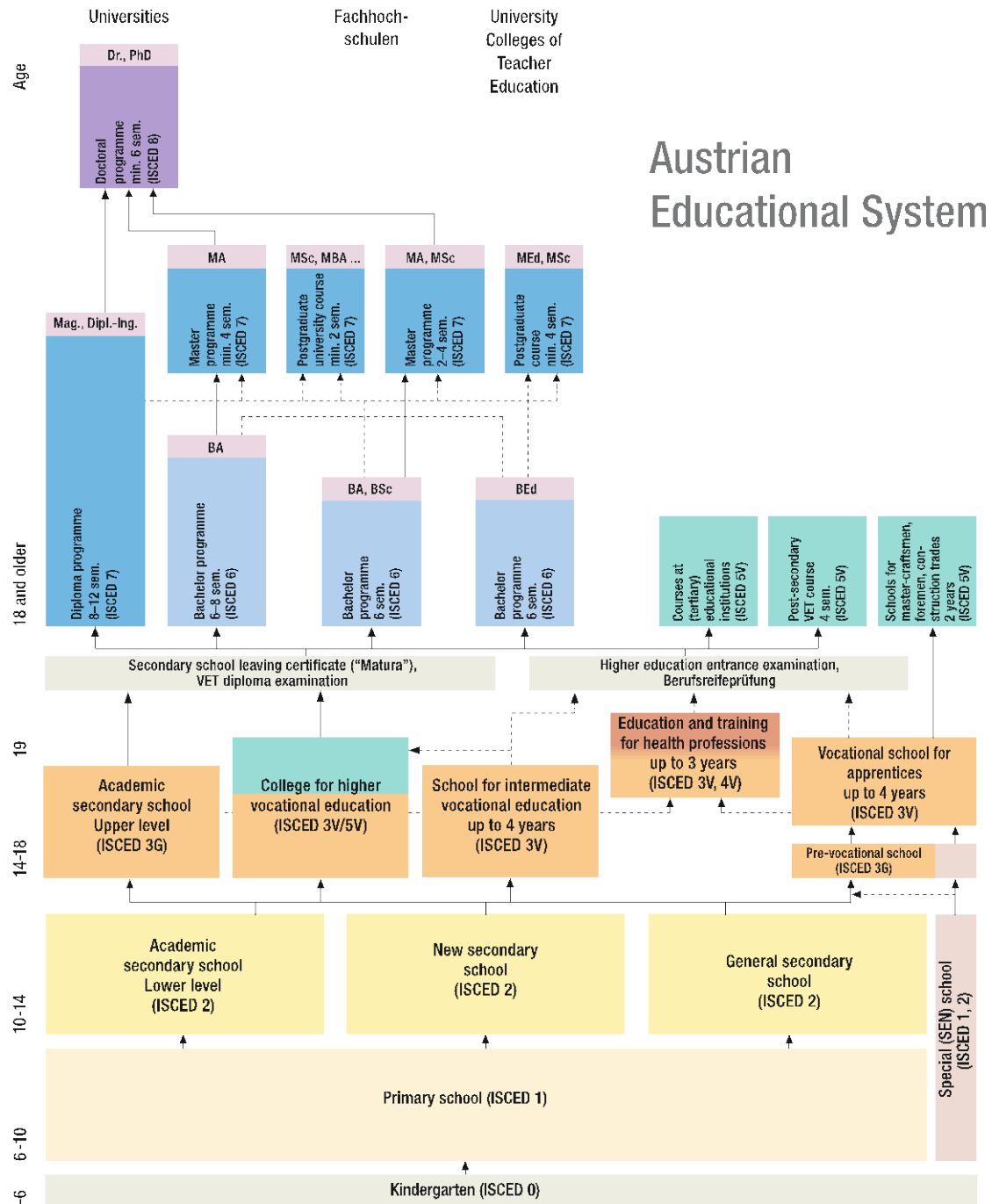


Figure 1. An overview of the Austrian educational system, source:

https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/bw/ueberblick/bildungssystemgrafik_2015e.pdf?5h6ycp

(accessed on 26.07.2017)

In order to improve the current Austrian education system, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education advocates, among other measures, *intercultural learning*, specifically in relation to the complex of school and migration. This was ‘anchored as a teaching principle in the curricula of all general schools at the beginning of the nineties’¹, which “should contribute to mutual understanding, to recognize differences and similarities, and to reduce prejudice”² (Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, 2017³). However, the terms ‘cultural’ or ‘culture’ are not defined, and remain ambiguous and abstract. Therefore, it remains unclear what exactly is meant here by *intercultural learning*. Furthermore, how can *intercultural learning* unfold in the current discourse of Austrian music education? Can intercultural learning in music produce constructive suggestions that can support pupils with migrant backgrounds in this differentiated two-track education system? This article aims to provide an example on how ethnomusicology can act and fill some gaps in this complex.

In the first section of this article, I propose a way of understanding *intercultural learning*, before presenting an overview of the research project *Music without Borders*. I will include project contexts and results, and describe the role that ethnomusicological research played during its operation. Thereby, details on cross-disciplinary communication will be provided. I extrapolate the challenges and limitations for ethnomusicologists in this scenario and elaborate on how both scholarly research and practice-oriented methods can benefit from each other. The following section presents the songbook *Sieben Blätter und ein Stein* (*Seven Leaves and One Stone*) that consists of a printed story, an audio book, a music CD and drawings of pupils, and which aims to transform the research findings into an artistic pedagogical product for a broader audience. Finally, some of the problems and issues encountered during the research project and the book’s production will be discussed within the broader framework of current methodologies in music pedagogy.

¹ Originally in German: “zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre als Unterrichtsprinzip in den Lehrplänen aller allgemein bildenden Schulen verankert”, translated to English by the author.

² Originally in German: “ein Beitrag zum gegenseitigen Verständnis, zum Erkennen von Unterschieden und Gemeinsamkeiten und zum Abbau von Vorurteilen geleistet werden [soll]”, translated to English by the author.

³ Source: https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/unterricht/prinz/interkult_lernen.html (accessed on 25.11.2017).

Intercultural Learning

The *Handbook of Intercultural Learning* proposes ‘change of perspective’ and ‘dialogue’ as fundamental principles for intercultural learning (Binder and Luciak, 2010: 17-19). Changing perspectives, on the one hand, requires increased self-reflection and, on the other hand, offers the opportunity to view phenomena from the perspectives of others, or to situate oneself in situations commonly experienced by others. Dialogue, in this context, means effective exchange between individuals from different social, religious, and cultural backgrounds. This allows for learning from each other and promotes mutual understanding and acceptance (see Binder and Luciak, 2010: 17). However, more concrete methods, such as *situational approaches, considerations for dealing with intercultural teaching content* and *visual aids and media*, are also explained in detail, with examples, by these same authors (see Binder and Luciak, 2010: 18-19).

All these terms and methods suggest that within the concept of intercultural learning, ‘culture’ should not be understood as the static condition most people think it is. Their rather conservative attitude towards ‘culture’ still recalls the concept suggested by Herder in the 18th century, picturing ‘culture’ as being characteristic of ‘a nation’ or ‘a people’ (see Herder, 1961). Nowadays, ‘culture’ should be perceived as a mosaic of mobile, changeable and dynamically continual processes (see Binder, 2002: 427, Leenen et al. 2002: 85). This means that in particular, individual students should be considered as individuals regardless of their background, rather than accumulating students with migrant background into ‘cultural,’ ‘ethnic,’ or even ‘religious’ groups, and setting them up to face biases and prejudices. However, it is often the case that people uncritically impose attributions such as ‘the Turks’ or ‘a Serb’ to individual pupils. The most well-known prejudice in Austria is the accusation that pupils with migrant background were unable to sufficiently master the German language.

At the same time, intercultural learning “cannot only be ‘taught’ in isolated subjects, and/or does not only play a role in a few subjects”⁴ (Binder, 2002: 426), but must be included everywhere and in every subject. In this context, music is proposed as an excellent means “for the implementation of the teaching principle of ‘Intercultural

⁴ Originally in German: “nicht nur in einzelnen Unterrichtsfächern ‘gelehrt’ werden kann und/oder nur in einigen wenigen Fächern eine Rolle spielt,” translated to English by the author.

Learning,”⁵ because “the development of musical genres often results from intercultural contacts, or is an expression of the culture of different groups in society”⁶ (Binder and Luciak, 2010: 46). Auernheimer emphasizes that “music education [...] is always a place of intercultural formation and education, even if the music [in a particular case] does not function as the medium of intercultural education”⁷ (2007: 23).

Music without Borders

The two phenomena mentioned above – the ‘differentiated education system’ and *intercultural learning* as a pedagogical strategy, as related to the complex of school and migration in Austria – build the starting point for the research project *Music without Borders: Multilingualism in music (bi- and/or multi-musicality) and understanding the 'other' and the unfamiliar*.

The research project *Music without Borders* (1st of March 2015 – 30th of June 2017) was financed by a grant from the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research and Economics called *Sparkling Science*. It was realized at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (MDW) in cooperation between the Franz Schubert Department of Wind and Percussion Instruments in Music Education (FSI) and the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology (IVE). The primary research/project partner was ‘*Campus Landstraße*,’ a complex including a kinder garden, a primary school (*Volksschule Kleistgasse*) and a so-called new secondary school (*Neue Mittelschule Kölblgasse*). 90% of pupils at this campus count with a trans-national migration background. The project’s initiatives mainly involved primary and secondary schools.

The role of academic research within *Music without Borders* was defined as ‘accompanying research’ (*Begleitforschung*) in the framework as prescribed by the funding institution. It combined scholarly ethnomusicological research with praxis-oriented methods applied in music education, thus constituting an optimal

⁵ Originally in German: “für die Umsetzung des Unterrichtsprinzips ‘Interkulturelles Lernen,’” translated to English by the author.

⁶ Originally in German: “die Entwicklung von Musikrichtungen oft aus interkulturellen Kontakten resultiert bzw. Ausdruck der Kultur von verschiedenen Gruppen in der Gesellschaft ist” translated to English by the author.

⁷ Originally in German: “der Musikunterricht [...] immer [...] ein Ort interkultureller Erziehung und Bildung [ist], selbst dann, wenn die Musik nicht als das Medium interkultureller Bildung fungiert” translated to English by the author.

interdisciplinary cross-section. Nevertheless, different interpretations rooted in the given disciplinary discourses had to be overcome.

The main areas of research in this project were the students' musical identity *per se* and bi- and/or multi-musicality. One of the primary goals was to foster the pupils' understanding of the 'other' and the 'unfamiliar' in music that was new to them. We intentionally confronted pupils with hitherto unfamiliar musical styles in order to neutralize existing prejudices and to support them in acquiring an increased sensibility towards difference. Within the scope of this project, the participants – pupils, schoolteachers, MDW teachers and students, and researchers – cooperated with each other towards developing sustainable concepts for understanding and respectfully displaying intercultural communication.

The main academic objectives of the project were as follows:

1. Pupils shall be made familiar with scholarly and practical methods of ethnomusicology and music education at a pre-university level.
2. New methodological concepts for intercultural music teaching will be developed in collaboration between ethnomusicology and music education, in order to facilitate teaching, learning and understanding of interculturality in school lessons.
3. By focusing on intercultural communication and the experience of being-together, and by providing sustainable research based on pupils' own motivations during the learning processes, pupils should ultimately be well prepared for reflecting on identity issues by themselves.

Ethnomusicology in *Music without Borders*

The Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research and Economics requires for projects funded within the program *Sparkling Science*, that practical work is conducted in schools, and that accompanying research is performed with pedagogical engagement. Therefore, the ethnomusicologists involved applied research, teaching and organizing, by means of the following concrete tasks: 1) To introduce ethnomusicological research methods to the pupils and likewise practice their application, such as how to ask questions or conduct interviews, how to use audio-visual recording devices for learning and for documenting others' knowledge; 2) To collect data by conducting interviews

with pupils, teachers, and school directors, and by collaborating with teachers and students of the MDW. 3) To document instrument lessons given by MDW teachers and students, and musical events performed at the schools. Data collected in tasks 2) and 3) were later anonymized and evaluated by using MaxQDA⁸; 4) To produce a song- and audio-book. Around thirty teaching sessions were documented, and twelve interviews with pupils, eighteen interviews with teachers and students at the MDW, and four interviews with school directors and teachers were conducted. Furthermore, five instrument lessons, two recording sessions for the audio-book, and six events that took place at the campus were documented.

Cross-disciplinary and Intercultural Communication

The project involved more than one hundred participants. By applying semi-structured interviews and by teaching weekly ethnomusicological lessons with the voluntary attention of twelve pupils, one could observe and learn in detail about interactions among all people involved.

Based on the interviews with schoolteachers, it was possible to clearly define some of the recurring issues at the new secondary school. The most urgent issues mentioned by several interviewees were their observations of teachers' obvious lack of appreciation for the pupils' first languages; their learning environment is chaotic, and schoolteachers' ways of dealing with pupils are overly authoritative, like in the military. Furthermore, interviewees complained that they recognized the schoolteachers' lack of intercultural competence, education and life experience, as well their lack of emotional attachment toward their school with pupils. All these problems lead to difficulties encountered and raised during this project. On the contrary, these issues were not explicitly expressed when talking about the elementary school.

It should suffice here to provide an in-depth analysis of these two main difficulties that repeatedly appeared in the project's process for all MDW members.

First, we observed that pupils in general lacked motivation in the beginning. This pertained especially to the pupils attending the secondary school, who often do not identify with the institution due to restrictive rules imposed by the school

⁸ MaxQDA is software used for qualitative data analysis by VERBI GmbH, for details see: <http://www.maxqda.com/> (accessed on 25.11.2017).

administration (pupils' parents are not allowed to enter the school building without appointments, for example, and pupils must immediately leave the campus after their regular lessons).⁹ MDW teachers assume that these rules are the main cause for the lack of emotional attachment the pupils have for their school. Likewise, effective communication strategies between schoolteachers and pupils, and between teachers and pupils' parents are missing. Most pupils' parents only reluctantly contact schoolteachers because of their different socio-cultural perceptions and values. Furthermore, many parents fear that their proficiency in German language is insufficient. This also impedes communication between MDW teachers/students and pupils' parents/family members. In the end, thanks to the weekly music lessons given by MDW teachers and students which were scheduled after the regular school lessons, this emotional attachment could grow significantly.

The second problem we encountered is the mode of communication at the administrative level. In the beginning, the schools' administration did not organize weekly music/instrumental lessons (see Tab.1) in a satisfactory way. Often, pupils did not attend the lessons, mainly because they did not know about them. This could be optimized during the project, because after one year of MDW teachers and students working with the pupils, a positive effect on the children was noted in both schools. When realizing this, the school's administration started to acknowledge the importance of this project, and began providing full administrative support.

⁹ Source: interviews with two MDW teachers conducted on 05.11.2015 and 16.11.2015.

Table 1. Schedule of weekly music lessons in *Music without Borders*. Created by Silvia Erdik

Day of the Week	Instrument	Day of the Week	Instrument
Monday	Saxophone	Wednesday	Trumpet
Monday	Fagot	Thursday	Horn, Trombone
Tuesday	Clarinet	Thursday	Singing/ Voice Training
Tuesday	Singing/Voice Training	Friday	Oboe
Wednesday	Recorder	Friday	Percussio n

Processes and Results

Pupils' musical identification

We could observe that most pupils from migrant backgrounds are able to speak the first language of their parents and family members, perform music, and share knowledge about the music and dance traditions from their respective communities. We can conclude that most pupils who come from migrant backgrounds are musically multilingual, which means that they listen to many different musical styles and identify with a multitude of musical languages. On one hand, there are no significant tendencies among pupils to actually identify with musical languages of their families' communities of origin. They mainly identify with mainstream musical genres and musical products such as rap, hip pop, rock, popular love songs etc., mostly provided by German- or

English-speaking commercial music industries. Contrastingly, pupils do significantly identify with dance practices from their parents' or families' source communities.

Suggestions for improving MDW curricula

Courses on music beyond western-classical traditions were hitherto unavailable at MDW University, as were group instrument lessons. Our project aims at optimizing the curriculum of the MDW's music education departments. This is achieved by defining problems, possibilities, and suggestions with the collaboration of students, teachers and pupils. By now, MDW teachers have helped students develop strategies to address challenges posed by group teaching practice. Likewise, engaging with the regular school context – which is very different from a *Musikschule*¹⁰ – became an important topic in teaching at the MDW. The regular school pupils' perspective can thus be better understood. This is much appreciated by MDW students.

Ethnomusicology as a strategy for establishing a platform for intercultural communication

As mentioned before, an ethnomusicologist offered weekly lessons for pupils who attended voluntarily. These interventions aimed at introducing the pupils to the ethnomusicological research methods and their application. For example, they were instructed how to ask questions or conduct interviews, and how to use audio-visual recording techniques for learning and for documenting others' knowledge. In the beginning, some pupils ridiculed their peers who presented their own favourite songs or dances; others even refused to listen to those speaking. However, during the learning process, especially when presenting their own and their parents' favourite songs, the pupils began to respect each other's musical and aesthetic preferences, decisions, and activities. Furthermore, they became curious about their peers' favourite songs and dances and started to imitate and participate in performance. Later, they decided to create individual or collective dance choreographies. Therefore, the lessons in ethnomusicology created an effect of serendipity, by itself providing an efficient tool for establishing a platform for intercultural communication.

¹⁰ *Musikschule* means music school in German. These music schools are extracurricular and charge fees, so they are mostly attended by pupils from upper or middle class families. Music lessons at these schools are regularly taught in individual classes.

Acknowledging Diversity as an advantage

Schoolteachers, students and teachers of MDW often tend to conflate pupils' self-identifications with their grandparents' or parents' nationalities. Especially schoolteachers often use terms like 'Turkish children', 'Serbian children' and so on, although most of these pupils were born in Austria. Before launching our project in 2014, its initiator, Hande Sağlam, a Turkish music expert in Austria (see Sağlam and Hemetek, 2008), noted, for example, a discriminatory attitude and prejudices toward pupils and parents with migrant background expressed by one of the campus' decision-makers who issued statements like "those pupils with migrant background can never have success, because of their backgrounds. Children from lower-class families cannot be as intelligent as children from the upper class, because of genetic deformations" (Sağlam, 2016). Surprisingly, during an interview with the same person on June 30th, Sağlam could observe many positive changes in the person's attitude, a year and a half since the implementation of our project. Presently, this person even considers diversity and "multi-culturality" (Sağlam, 2016) at the school as an advantage and treasure, and recognizes that our project's music lessons support the pupils' self-confidence and encourage them to express their individual self-identification.

Sieben Blätter und ein Stein (Seven Leaves and One Stone)

In 1964, Allam Merriam found that ethnomusicologists rarely felt the urge to solve problems and influence people's destinies. However, he found it quite conceivable that such an attitude could be of greater importance in the future (see Merriam, 1964: 43). Since 1992 some pioneers – among them Daniel Sheehy, Bess Lomax Hawes, Anthony Seeger and Martha Ellen Davis – have committed themselves to establishing an applied ethnomusicology within the broader academic context. Twenty-five years later, applied ethnomusicology has become an important tool for rendering insights from research effective outside of academia. Specifically, it offers opportunities to actively participate in areas such as politics, education, sustainability of musical practice (UNESCO immaterial culture heritage, for example), music therapy, and so on. Practice-oriented processes generate further knowledge, which in turn can flow back into research.

Nevertheless, there is still no universally valid definition of Applied Ethnomusicology. The ICTM's Study Group on Applied Ethnomusicology suggests that applied ethnomusicology is "the approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which

extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts” (*ICTM Study Group on Applied Ethnomusicology*). The concept used for producing the audio- and songbook *Sieben Blätter und ein Stein: das Märchen von Märchen* (*Seven Leaves and One Stone: the Tale of Fairy Tales*) follows exactly this approach.

This production consists of a printed story illustrated with drawings made by pupils, an audio-book, and a music CD.¹¹ It aims to transmit findings from our research to a broader public in a format appropriate for children of all ages and backgrounds. The idea of launching this book relates our project to both applied ethnomusicology and arts-based research.

The main story in this book was created by Jessica Huijnen, a language pedagogue experienced in working with children of migrant backgrounds, and with refugees in Germany. The plot is fictitious and describes how seven children embark on several journeys to different regions and communities, which are all connected to different traditional or popular musical styles. The protagonists, school pupils, escape during an exam in their regular music lesson, and by means of magic experience adventures they survive by applying their language and music proficiencies. The criteria for selecting musical styles were mainly based on the proportions of migrant groups in Austrian schools and the pupils’ favourite music styles. It is important to note that musical styles are associated with certain regions and milieus rather than nation states. The story is printed in the book and also recorded as told by professional actors on one of the accompanying CDs. The printed book also includes scores of all the pieces mentioned in the story, and these pieces can be listened to in full length on the second CD. In addition, drawings made by the pupils were edited by a professional graphic designer and illustrate the songs and stories.

¹¹ See the publisher’s website for details about the book: <http://www.bibliothekderprovinz.at/buch/7219> (accessed on 25.11.2017).

However, since *Sieben Blätter und ein Stein* was just recently released (on 28th of April 2017), the impact of this production cannot yet be fully evaluated.¹² At the very least, MDW students enrolled in other departments of music education have expressed their appreciation for this book, because they can finally use the music scores in this book for teaching. The CD with full-length pieces helps them learn and interpret musics from traditions and milieus hitherto unfamiliar to them.

Conclusion? Or more Debates?

To summarize, the (applied) research project *Music without Borders* lead us to identify problems and needs of pupils, parents, and teachers in everyday praxis, as well as to provide space and time for developing constructive strategies and putting these into practice. A number of studies, statistical data and numerous newspaper articles address the ‘disadvantages’ and ‘precarious situations’ of pupils of migrant backgrounds and their problems at school. Several studies have proven that musical activities and projects can help in overcoming deficiencies like problems in identity and communication (see, among others, Campbell, 2004; Klebe, 2005; Barth, 2008; Schippers, 2010; Alge and Krämer, 2013). It is likewise evident that strategic involvement of parents or family members can support positive learning processes among pupils (see Schmälze, 1985; Flutter and Rudduck, 2004; Fürstenau and Gomolla, 2009; Scheerens, 2009; Cork, 2005; and Müller, 2013), for example:

“We observed that strategies involving a ‘three-way’ dialogue for pupils, parents and teachers to talk about learning could be particularly helpful. [...] However, it is also important that schools have systems in place to help pupils whose families take little interest in their education” (Flutter and Rudduck, 2004: 129).

All aforementioned studies consider the cooperation with family members an advantage in order to develop collective common norms, better communication, respect and knowledge. *Music without Borders* shares this opinion and confirms respective results with its research findings.

¹² A review by music pedagogue Isolde Malmberg in German and English has been published in the *mdw-webmagazine*: <https://www.mdw.ac.at/magazin/index.php/2017/09/29/rezension-sieben-blaetter-und-ein-stein/?lang=en> (accessed on 25.11.2017).

Although music can be applied as a tool for supporting pupils' self-confidence, identification process and communication skills, a dilemma nevertheless remains in the Austrian compulsory system. In Austrian public media, the myth that children with migrant background would suffer from an inability of mastering the German language became widespread, thus establishing a common prejudice. At its outset, many schoolteachers involved in *Music without Borders* also shared this stance towards the children.

Our interviews¹³ with twelve pupils, who were mostly born in Austria as second or third generation to immigrant parents (or grandparents), unanimously show that these pupils are able to speak and write German much better than their (grand) parents' first languages. This leads to the question: what could have been going wrong so as to warrant the suggestion that these pupils were not able to perfectly master German during their entire lifetimes? Hans-Jürgen Krumm, professor of German Studies at the University of Vienna¹⁴, points out that the problem lies in an obsession teachers seem to adhere to, an obsession with overemphasizing German language skills from the very first moment children enter kinder garden. Pedagogues only cared about the children's (in)ability to speak German while they were unaware of what else these children can do. Jessica Huijnen – author of the narrative in *Sieben Blätter und ein Stein*, and experienced language pedagogue – confirms this, referring to her year-long engagement with children with migrant or refugee backgrounds in kinder garden. In a conversation on 29th of April 2017, Huijnen shared her experience as follows:

Children are very sensitive about adults' judgements. Once, a child aged five told me with tears in her eyes that she wished so much to be a writer, but she would never get that far, because she could never ever master German. Do you know how this hurt me? As a pedagogue, one should pay attention to existing skills and potentials of children in order to motivate them and to spark their curiosity in learning more things or other languages, instead of demotivating them by displaying imagined limitations that are pre-set by adults.

¹³ Interviews conducted on 10.05.2016, 24.05.2016, 31.05.2016 and 21.06.2016.

¹⁴ Interview published by the Austrian newspaper *Der Standard* on 4th of November 2009, see: <http://derstandard.at/1256743929918/Oesterreich-und-das-Deutsch-Problem> (accessed on 25.11.2017).

For this reason she decided to take an active role in the production of *Sieben Blätter und ein Stein*. Her intention matches our research findings, that is, to create a space and a format for acknowledging and strengthening the extracurricular knowledge, skills and potentials held by pupils with migrant background.

Where does the obsession with overemphasizing German language skills, as pointed out by Krumm, and the lack of appreciation for pupils' first languages come from? What is the source of the prejudices that pupils who come from migrant backgrounds or from underprivileged families will never have success? Perhaps, a false understanding of 'culture' – as a static condition – is a reason that hinders schoolteachers from considering and esteeming every pupil as a unique individual?

There are serious doubts about the sustainability of the project *Music without Borders*, especially due to its duration being restricted to two years without any possibility of extending it. The only way to make this project sustainable seems to be the teachers' and students' on-going enthusiasm and their willingness to provide private initiatives.

Teachers and students at MDW University are aware of this. The percussion class led by Thomas Mair, for example, extended far beyond the project's schedule, supported by individual initiatives. In April 2016, one of Mair's students, Gergely Ösze, organized an opportunity for the pupils in the percussion class to perform with and teach other kids during an event for children outside the school and independent from *Music without Borders*.¹⁵ With such empowerment, pupils can present what they learned during their classes and transmit it to others. Later, the pupils from the percussion class participated in a competition *Science Slam*, initiated by the project's funding institution – a kind of internal competition for all projects financed by the program *Sparkling Science*. During their performance in the competition, pupils should speak in both their first languages and in German. The kids told the audience in rap lyrics how they benefitted from our project by acquiring new knowledge and skills. This displays and confirms their great bi-/multilingual potential. The pupils presented their performance in the final round of this *Science Slam* competition and won it against pupils involved in other *Sparkling Science* projects from the whole country on 14th of November 2016.

¹⁵ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bLkHZ-L5fUo> (accessed on 26.07.2017).

Although it is nearly impossible to actively change the Austrian education system, we could at least publicly present the results from our research and give fruitful suggestions to the school and the MDW staff. Hopefully, our critical suggestions will be consciously and seriously considered by decision makers, students, and teachers at both the MDW and the involved schools. With the experience obtained throughout the duration of our project, we, as ethnomusicologists have to confirm that the differentiated school system is unjust and not suited for constructive education. We cannot change the system by ourselves, but we can contribute to making it better by achieving minor improvements with our investigations and evaluations. Furthermore, we can offer constructive suggestions to decision makers at the MDW and the *Campus Landstraße*, as well as beyond these institutions.

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Larchemi/Soinari – The Georgian Panpipe

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the panpipe, one of the ancient instruments of the Georgian traditional instrumentarium. Some Georgian traditional instruments remain popular today, with playing and construction techniques still preserved. Others, however, have disappeared from everyday life and stage folklore. Today, an instrument considered as one of the most ancient Georgian traditions – the panpipe, which we can discuss based on documentation and materials from the first half of the 20th century – is among those that have disappeared from everyday life.

The article aims to collate information about the instrument from different works by various researchers, and also to study its organological, ethnographic and musical features. It offers in-depth analysis of audio recordings and notated scores from fieldwork expeditions of the 1930s and 1950s.

Nowadays, there are some attempts in the regions as well as in the capital of Georgia to restore this instrument, although construction and repertoire are significantly different from the traditional forms.

KEYWORDS

Georgian Panpipe
Larchemi
Soinari
Georgian folk musical instruments
Georgian traditional instrumentarium

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Introduction

The Georgian panpipe was widespread throughout the territory of historical Colchis, particularly in Samegrelo, where it was known as *larchemi* (in the Jvari and Khobi area) and Guria, where it was known as *soinari/solinari* (in the Chokhatauri region, figure 1). We have proof that a panpipe known as *ostvinoni* existed in Lazeti too¹. In addition, the instrument may have spread into Abkhazia and Kvemo Imereti (Rosebashvili, 1960: 49); however, there is no concrete proof of this in the sources². Two other terms meaning ‘panpipe’ have been recorded in the literature: *sastsrapo* (in English: the urgent, in Samegrelo), which means ‘gunpowder flask’ (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 55-56), and *sastvinveli* (whistling) (Alavidze, 1978: 83; Orbeliani, 1993: 55).

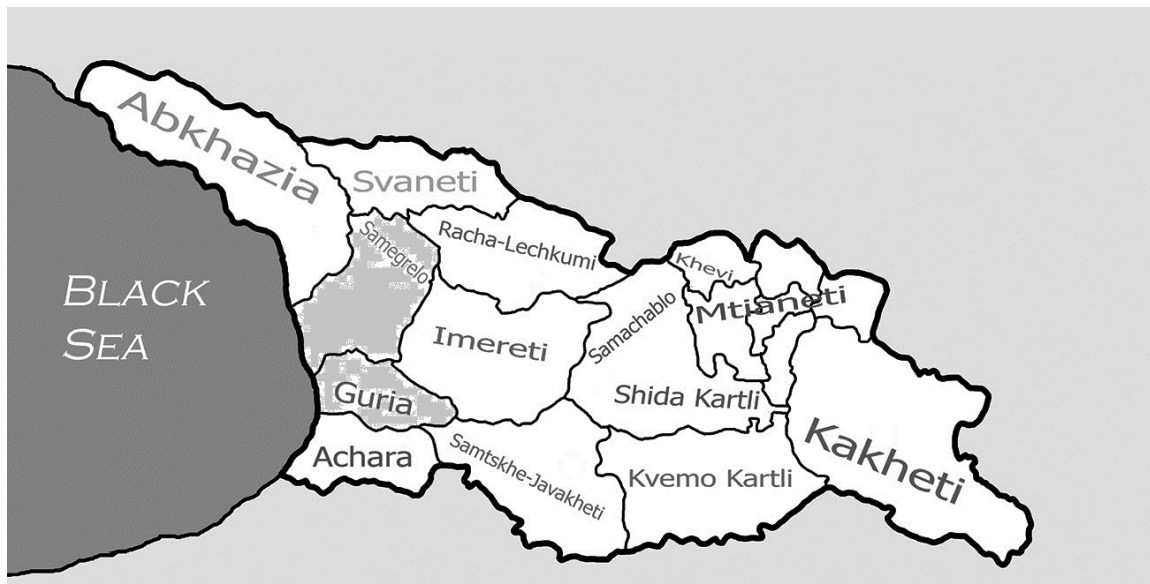


Figure 1. The map of Georgia.

A number of Georgian researchers have written about the Georgian panpipe (D. Arakishvili, I. Javakhishvili, V. Steshenko-Kutpina, S. Makalatia, K. Rosebashvili, O. Chijavadze, M. Shilakadze, G. Simvulidi, N. Mshvelidze, T. Zhvania, I. Zhghenti, etc.). The most important works are those of V. Steshenko-Kuptina (1936), D. Arakishvili (1940) and K. Rosebashvili (1960, 1975, 1981, 1985, 1986). In addition, a very important ethnographic report is given by Sergi Makalatia (1941). Musical materials are analyzed

¹ The existence of the panpipe in Lazeti is confirmed in one source only (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 36, 153).

² K. Rosebashvili has noted that the *larchemi* was used in the ritual to “catch the soul” of the dead in Abkhazia, as well in Samegrelo (Rosebashvili, 1960: 51). We must note that there is only one village, Kokhnari, where the *soinari* was recorded. The village borders Imereti, hence the instrument may have existed in this region as well.

by Valentina Steshenko-Kuptina (1936: 231–237), Giorgi Simvulidi (1978: 34-45), Tinatin Zhvania (2006: 24–41) and Ivane Zhghenti (2016: 103–123). To date, there is only one scholarly article available in English (Mshvelidze, 2003), together with a short entry in the *Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (Chkhikvadze, 2014: 20; Razmadze, 2014: 260-261).

Since the instrument has disappeared from life in the villages, we have to be satisfied with the reports about its role in traditional everyday life, the technology of construction, the nature of ensemble playing, and other features provided by the authors mentioned above. Fieldwork expedition materials – in particular, audio and score samples – are provided by Mshvelidze (*soinari* – 1931), Steshenko-Kuptina (*larchemi* and *soinari* – 1936), Chijavadze (*larchemi* – 1959) and Rosebashvili (*larchemi* – 1958; *soinari* – 1959); in total, there are 21 scores and 24 audio samples. There are 34 different items represented among the 45 samples; 11 score samples match the audio versions (see the list of score and audio examples below).

There are a number of legends about the origins of the panpipe. The most popular is the legend about the Greek god Pan. Another Greek myth is interesting, telling us about the king of the Georgian tribes, Mita: “In the 8th-7th century BC, in the Mushki (Meskhi) kingdom, great musical spectacle competitions were held. Mita, the King of Mushki, was himself considered to be the creator and disseminator of the panpipe, and also the supporter and referee of those playing it” (Janelidze, 1965: 50).

A Hittite bas-relief showing an image of a man in *chokha* (traditional Georgian costume) with wheat and panpipe (figure2, Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 64-65)³, allowed the researchers K. Rosebashvili and T. Zhvania to confirm that in ancient times tribes related to today's Georgians had the panpipe (Rosebashvili, 1960: 50; Zhvania, 2006: 27).

³ V. Steshenko-Kuiftina bases on the French publication – Perrot et Chiptez. *Histoire de l’art dans l’antiquité*, vol. IV, p. 561. The reseracher notes that the bas-relief dates back no earlier than VII-VIII centuries.



Figure 2. Hittite bas-relief from Roum-Qalah (Стещенко-Куфтина, 1936: 64).

The 2nd century mosaic figure of Pan playing the panpipe, discovered in Dzalisi near Mtskheta, is interesting, since scientists think it may be the *ochopintre* (*ochokochi/ochopintre* (Georgian: goatman) playing the *salamuri*/flute (figure 3, Chikhladze, 2013: 88).

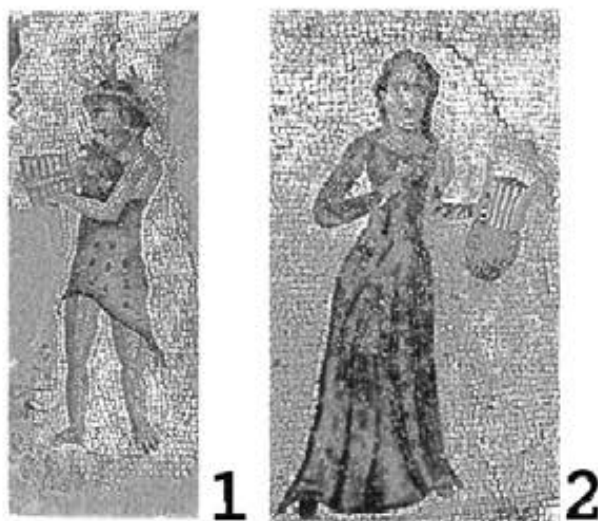


Figure 3. The mosaic figure of Pan playing panpipe and a woman with a lyra. 2nd century AD (Chikhladze, 2013: 88).

But, since, first of all, the *ochopintre* is not an Eastern mythological character even though discovered near Mtskheta, and, secondly, the main images on the colorful mosaic of the temple-palace are Dionysus, Ariadne and a woman with an instrument similar to Greek lira (Chikhladze, 2013: 70), this may be the Greek Pan, not the Georgian *ochopintre*.

I. Zhghenti and M. Shilakadze make a very interesting point about the human figure playing a double-pipe musical instrument depicted on the golden hanger in the 'Khaishi treasure' discovered in Svaneti (Zhghenti, 2016: 106; Shilakadze, 2007: 36). Dating from the 1st-2nd centuries AD (figure 4, Javakhishvili, 1958: 155), the golden hanger was considered to be the production of a local workshop (Chikhladze, 2013: 90).



Figure 4. 'Khaishi treasure' discovered in Svaneti. 1st-2nd century AD (Copyright the Georgian National Museum).

I think this instrument is more similar to the Greek aulos than to the panpipe. Discovering an instrument similar to the Greek aulos in Svaneti is to be expected, because some centuries before this period, there is evidence of Greek colonies and influences in the region.

Nomenclature for the Instrument

Four out of five names for the Georgian panpipe (*larchemi, soinari, ostvinoni, sastvineli, sastsrapo*) originated in Georgia.

Apparently, literary sources refer to it as *soinari/solinari*. Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (17th century) defines the meaning of *solinari* in his Georgian language dictionary⁴; also, to describe the process of playing panpipe by musicians in the work *Traveling in Europe*, he uses the term *soinari* (Orbeliani, 1940: 50). It is important that this tendency also shows itself in the scientific literature. For instance, D. Arakishvili the term *soinari* used to define Gurian and Megrelian panpipes (Arakishvili, 1940: 5-8; translation by Gr. Chkhikvadze). *Soinari* is a Greek word (σωλήν, σωληνάρι / solin, solinári) and means ‘water pipe’ in Georgian (Orbeliani, 1993: 165).

It is extremely interesting that in the 11th century work by Basili of Caesarea, ‘*Hexaëmeros*’ (Six Days of Creation), translated from Greek into Georgian by Giorgi Mtatsmindeli, the term *solinari* is defined as panpipe (Abuladze, 1964: 42).⁵ In the original Greek, to explain the arrangement of celestial bodies the talk is about twin vessels put together – ‘*τῶν κάδων*’ (dishware, vase, small barrel – in the plural).⁶ Instead of twin vessels Giorgi Mtatsmindeli apparently uses the name of the instrument – Solinari, disseminated in Georgia at the time. So the term has not been directly translated but replaced with its Georgian analog – familiar to Georgians with its local name.

The term *larchemi* means arundo (giant cane plant) in Megrelian. Indeed, in mountain areas of Samegrelo there are species of this plant named *larchema* used as material for making the instrument.

So far we have only one source about the panpipe (*ostvinoni*) spread in Lazeti provided by Iskander Tshitashi (Ískender (Alexander) Chitaşı) (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 36). Other researchers (Rosebashvili, Shilakadze, Mshvelidze, etc.) refer to the notes of Steshenko-Kuptina about the Laz *ostvinoni*.

⁴ “Stvirni shetskobit shetsebulni” (Orbeliani, 1993: 166).

⁵ <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/bascaes/baskes6d/basket.htm>

⁶ I wish to thank Ketevan Matiashvili, who helped me find and translate the text.

On the one hand, the term *ostvinoni* can be connected to ancient Greek (in the standard ancient Greek-Russian dictionary *ὀστέον/osteon* is defined as a bone, and the use of the term to indicate bone flutes may have originated from that (Dvoretzki, 1958: 1200);⁷ on the other hand, it sounds like the Georgian word *stvena* (whistle); most Laz informants defined *ostvinu* as ‘sliding’ (for example, ice sliding, skiing, etc.)⁸, while others recalled its ancient meaning, whistling⁹, although they did not confirm the existence of a pan-like instrument in Lazeti. There is a note by the young researcher Giorgi Kraveishvili that Laz consultants Narime Helimish and Muhittin Memişoğlu confirmed the existence of the *ostvinoni* in Lazeti (Kraveishvili, 2011: 126). In private conversation with the researcher I have verified that neither of these informants remembered the term *ostvinoni* (hence, the term used here is chosen by the author), and the researcher could not determine which instruments they were talking about – panpipe or *tulum* pipes (widespread among the Georgian population living within the territory of Turkey, and significantly different from the panpipe) (Saygun, 1937: 47¹⁰, Figure5). For now, the existence of the *ostvinoni* in Lazeti cannot be confirmed without more evidence.

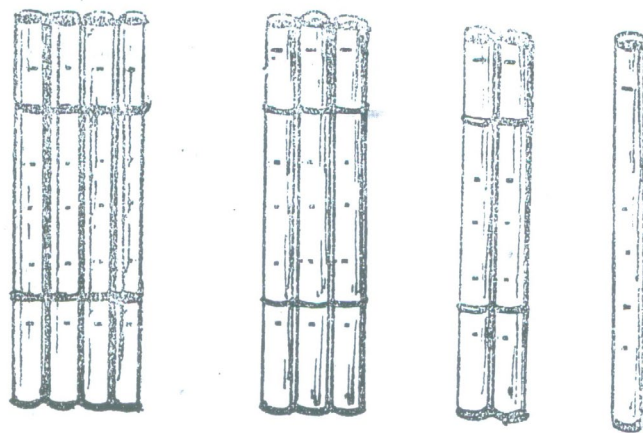


Figure 5. Pipes of *tulum* (*chimoni*) (Saygun, 1937: 47).

The local term *sastvinveli*, meaning Georgian panpipe, is mentioned in old Georgian translations of the Bible. D. Alavidze considered it the analog of the Laz *ostvinoni*

⁷ I wish to thank Ketevan Matiashvili, who helped me work with the dictionary.

⁸ I checked the information in a contemporary Laz-Turkish-English e-dictionary, where the same definition is given: *ostvinu*//*kaydırmak*//to slide, to be swift <http://www.nenapuna.net/>

⁹ Muhsin Senturk, 1953; Laz dictionary: <http://www.ice.ge/liv/liv/lazur.php>. See: *osthvinu* (whistle), *ostvinu* (whistle), *stvinei* (with whistling), *nostvine* (whistled), etc.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Abdullah Akat for providing me with this source.

(Alavidze, 1978: 83). According to Sulkhani-Saba Orbeliani these were “pipes (3, 7 Daniel)” (Orbeliani, 1993: 55).

I am curious as to whether the variety of instruments’ names just reflects differences among dialects, or is evidence that these instruments were different from each other in terms of their construction, tunes and repertoires. Unfortunately, we can only discuss this question based on the sources we have concerning mutually shared and different characteristics between the Megrelian *larchemi* and the Gurian *soinari*.

Materials and Construction

The traditional way to make the panpipe was to use an *arundo* or *larchema* as the material of construction. *Larchema* is an arundo-like plant but notably different from it. It grows as a long thin stem, 10-12 millimeters in diameter. Inside the stem, there are sections separated by dividers, used to make the pipes of the instrument (Rosebashvili, 1985: 15). According to the Megrelian and Gurian masters, a *larchemi* made from an arundo does not produce a good sound, and playing it is not too satisfying (Makalatia, 1941: 256; Sharashidze, 2014: 86).

Besides arundo, Gurians used an arundo-like plant called the ‘soinari bush’ to make *soinari* (Sharashidze, 2014: 86).

The suitable time for cutting the material and making the instrument was the end of July, August and September. At that time the material is raw and does not crack even after being used for a long time; also, its voice is better (Makalatia, 1941: 256; Rosebashvili, 1985: 15). According to Steshenko-Kuptina, *larchemi* or *soinari* are made from one stem of arundo. The maker starts cutting from the bottom. The layout of the pipes has a shape of a rhombus that is cut into half; two bass pipes are the longest and are sandwiched in the middle, while the shorter ones are located on the sides. First of all, the maker cuts two bass pipes, then he cuts pipes one after another and tunes the sections to appropriate intervals of a third (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 229). While cutting the pipes of *larchemi* there are no preset standards—a maker checks his progress aurally (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 207).

The pipes arranged in a row are tied with the bark of a young cherry tree (Megrelian: *khrali*, *balishi sartkeli* [in English: pillow girdle]; Gurian: *sartkeli* [in English: girdle])

(Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 208; Makalatia, 1941: 257; Rosebashvili, 1960: 50; 1985: 16). According to the note by Nona Kobalia, to bind the pipes, cannabis or other tree barks were used¹¹.

Larchemi and *soinari* were traditionally carried hanging round the neck with a ribbon loop (Megrelian: *ghina*, *bunapali*) (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 210, image III; Rosebashvili, 1986: 18).

Construction

Number of pipes and layout

Researchers note a difference in size between the Gurian and Megrelian panpipes – the Megrelian panpipe is bigger compared to the Gurian (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 208; Shilakadze, 1970: 19). However, according to Rosebashvili, there were two kinds of *soinaris* with different sizes in Guria –one small and the other even smaller, the so-called pocket *soinari*, which was played at nights while travelling (Rosebashvili, 1985: 17). In addition, analysis of the sound frequencies from the audio recordings by Sh. Mshvelidze (1931) proves that there existed Gurian *soinari* of the size of the Megrelian *larchemi*.

According to the specimens and documentation available to us today, Georgian (Gurian and Megrelian) panpipes were usually made from six closed pipes. The longest two pipes are located in the center, the others - sideways according to length (figure 6).

¹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3QrOpHbpF3w>

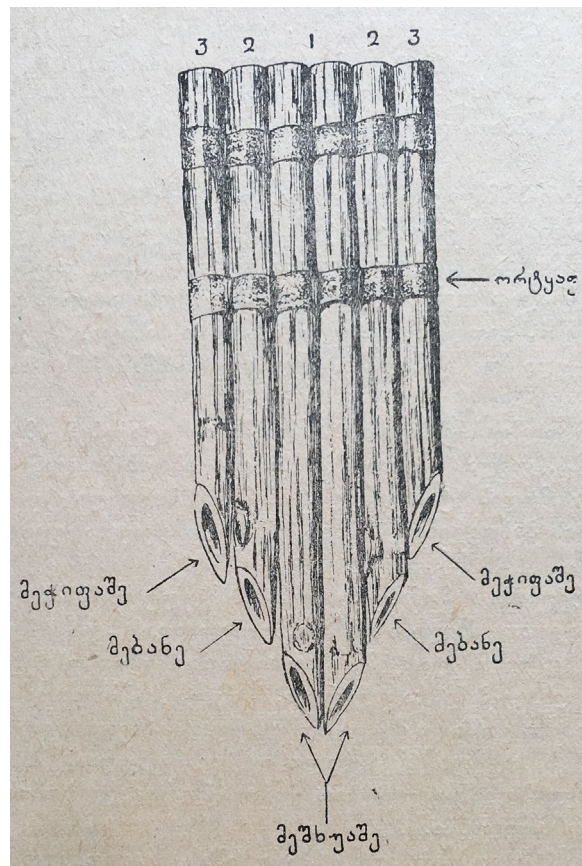


Figure 6. Six-pipe Georgian panpipe (Makalatia, 1941: 256)

V. Steshenko-Kuptina noted that the pipes of this construction could be a very rare, or perhaps, only kind of the panpipes disseminated throughout the world (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 208; Rosebashvili, 1960: 50-51).

According to S. Makalatia, a five-pipe panpipe was extant in Samegrelo (in Khobi). Unlike six-pipe instruments, this one had pipes located next to each other in order of length (figure7). Unfortunately, we have no information about its tuning or repertoire (Makalatia, 1941: 255–259).

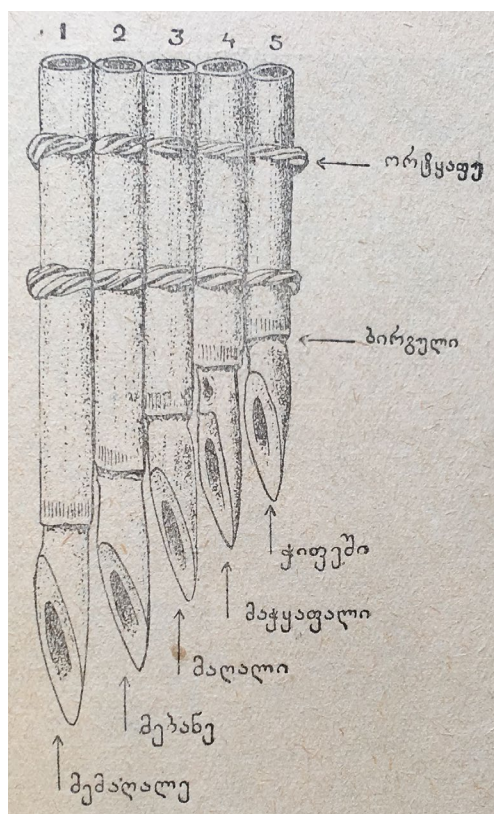


Figure 7. Five-pipe Georgian panpipe (Makalatia, 1941: 257)

Interestingly, sometimes when playing Megrelian repertoire on six-pipe *larchemi*, performers use only five out of the six pipes. Names of the pipes of Georgian panpipes, whether there are five or six pipes present, are somewhat similar, and the pitches and functions of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th pipes on the five-pipe flute correspond to those of the 4th, 3rd, 5th, 2nd and 1st pipes on the six-pipe flute.

V. Steshenko-Kuptina found some indication of the presence of instruments with seven and twelve pipes existing at some point in Lazeti, although she could not prove it with any certainty (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 183).

Names of pipes in Samegrelo and Guria

Different researchers have recorded the names of the pipes of the Megrelian *larchemi* and Gurian *soinari*, which sometimes significant differ from each other (tables 1 and 2).

Table 1. Pipe names of Megrelian *larchemi*

		Steshenko-Kuptina		Makalatia		Rosebashvili			Kobalia			
The number of pipe ¹²	The number of pipe	Name		The number of pipe	Name	The number of pipe	Name		The number of pipe	Name		
		1	6				mechipashe	ukulashi (smaller), left side			3	mechipashe
2	4	gemachkapali	2	mebane (bass)	[2]	mebane, bani (bass)	[4]		mechipe, mechipeshi			
3	2	mebane (maghali bani (high bass), mtavari bani (main bass), didi bani (great bass))	1	meshkhuashe	3	meshkhuashe, Gemachkapali (beginner)	2		mebane, chipeshi, chipebanishi			
4	1	mebane (meore bani (second bass), patara bani (small bass))	umosi (bigger), right side	1	meshkhuashe	[4]	meshkhuashe, gemachkapali		1	mebane, shkhushi, shkhubanishi	Long pipes	
5	3	gemachkapali, gemachkapuri (beginner)		2	mebane (bass)	[5]	mebane, bani (bass)		[3]	gochipeshi, gopsha		
6	5	mechipashe		3	mechipashe	[6]	mechipane		[5]	gemachkepuri		

Table 2. Pipe names of Gurian *soinari*

		Steshenko-Kuptina, 1		Steshenko-Kuptina, 2		Rosebashvili		
Pipe number ¹³	The number of pipe	Name		Pipe Number	Name	Pipe Number	Name	
		1	6				Sixth voice	Left side
2	4	Fourth voice	4	gadatanili	2	High bass		
3	2	Small bass	2	sashualo	3	Low bass		
4	1	Great bass	Right side	1	bani (bass)	3	Bass	Left side
5	3	Third voice		3	tskeba	2	Second voice	
6	5	Fifth voice		5	modzakhili	[1]	krimanchuli	

¹² Numbered by the author (N.R.).

¹³ Numbered by the author (N.R.).

According to different researchers, bass pipes, which are the longest, were sometimes located in the middle, and sometimes second and forth in the row, next to the middle pipes. In the repertoire available to us, the bass function is allocated to the 3rd and 4th pipes, not the 5th or 2nd. I think there is a mistake in Makalatia's records, repeated by K. Rosebashvili and O. Chijavadze. Bass pipes are named as middle pipes by Rosebashvili in his research: "If we start counting from the middle or the bass pipe [...]" (Rosebashvili, 1960: 52).

Numbering of pipes

Understandably, different Georgian researchers number the pipes of the *larchemi* and *soinari* in different ways (tables 1 and 2). V. Steshenko-Kuptina numbers the pipes corresponding to their pitch, so that the longest pipe is #1. In S. Makalatia's numbering system the *larchemi* is divided into two parts, and the numbering principle also depends on the pitch sequence of the pipes. A perception of the two parts of the instrument is evident in folk terminology as well, when the performers report to us the terms *umosi* and *ukulashi* (these terms are defined below). His numbering of the *soinari* pipes is different and, like S. Makalatia's numbering system, is based on the division of the instrument into two parts (3-3).

In fact, Steshenko-Kuptina, Makalatia and Kobalia deal with the numbering of pipes by starting from the longest and counting up towards the shortest, while by Rosebashvili starts from the shortest pipe, according to the layout. As for the five-pipe *larchemi*, in Makalatia's research the numbering starts from the longest pipe counting up towards the shortest one as well (tables 1 and 2).

According to popular international practice, each separate pipe of the panpipe is identified either with numbers or with the Latin symbols for the pitches. I have found two versions of numbering: in the first version, pipes are numbered according to their pitch, with the longest counted as #1 (Civallero, 2014: 249); in the second, pipes with different pitches are numbered according to the sequence that corresponds to the tuning of the instrument (Civallero, 2014: 257).

When numbering the pipes, I have adopted the principle of K. Rosebashvili, to number the pipes starting with the shortest one in sequence. This is because numbering according to the sequence seems to be convenient for notation, and the analysis of the

audio material has shown that performers usually used to play the shorter trio, rather than the long pipes. Furthermore, sometimes performers did not use the 6th pipe.

Dividing the sides of the instrument into left and right sides was also approached differently by V. Steshenko-Kuptina/Arakishvili and Rosebashvili; For V. Steshenko-Kuptina/Arakishvili the left side is *ukulashi*, but for Rosebashvili it is *umosi* (Megrelian: senior, long-piped). The first approach indicates the left and right sides from the point of view of the observer, while the second speaks from the position of the performer. In this case, I prefer the position of K. Rosebashvili, because the right side probably was *ukulashi* for the performer.

Performing Technique and Notation

We have very little information about the features of traditional performance on the *larchemi* and *soinari*. Unfortunately, because there is no video documentation, there is no way to recapture some aspects of performance, although studying the tunings and the audio and score samples allow us to define some features.

Performers simultaneously blow the 6th-5th, 5th-4th, 3rd-2nd, 2nd-1st and 3rd-2nd-1st pipes. They do not use 4th-3rd (bass) pipe combination. While using pipes sequentially, they mostly use side pipes. Long distance intervals are rare, for instance, from the 3rd pipe to the 1st and vice versa, or 1st-2nd pipe to the 5th-6th ones.

In the samples of 'Nirzi'¹⁴, the performers sequentially blow pipes (one each) located side by side (for example: 2123232321232... Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 275), or one performer blows two adjacent pipes and the other blows each of the adjacent pipes (audio instrumental piece, #22). In other words, for the most part, performers, actually, blow the neighbouring pipes. Blowing the outer pipes and skipping the middle one is quite rare (for example, 123332132313233332123... audio instrumental piece, #22).

As the musical analysis shows, the performers on the recordings from the 1930s were intensively mastering all of the six pipes, while in the recordings from the 1950s they were using 5 pipes out of 6. In both sets of recordings the side of the instrument with the short pipes is more actively used by performers.

¹⁴ A musical competition where two performers play the same instrument by dividing pipes, three each, described in detail below.

Playing intervals and chords can be achieved by blowing pipes simultaneously, as well as separately. Each pipe produces one pitch; the pitch does not shift by raising and lowering the pipe end, or by changing the sound length.

Steshenko-Kuptina notes that there is a very remarkable way of playing the panpipe: performers press their lips tightly against gaps between the pipes, blowing into two pipes simultaneously so that the interval of a third is played. Getting equally full and precise sounds from both pipes is dependent on the performer's breath technique (1936: 208-209). This technique of playing the six-pipe *salamuri* was not shown in the audio recordings. It is worth noting that because of the different construction, in order to perform the repertoire available to us, a five-pipe *larchemi* would be necessary— there are many intervals of a third, so closing the middle pipe would be closed using one's tongue.

M. Shilakadze noted that the design and construction of the instrument was related to the tradition of polyphonic performance (Shilakadze, 1970: 70). Indeed, the aforementioned performance manner is quite uncomfortable to create polyphony, and maybe, getting this kind of sound with a less complicated playing technique became the prerequisite for making the instrument with an original construction. It is worth noting that the Ecuadorian *rondador*, the only one of the world's panpipes I have found on which two-voice music is played, also has an unusual construction¹⁵. In different cultures (Peru, Russia, etc.) polyphony is achieved in ensemble performance, when several performers play simultaneously.

It is difficult to know which side of the instrument was considered the right side from the perspective of the performer without video sources. Also, if we take the sequence of the pipes into consideration, when showing the tuning of the instrument, supposedly, the side named *umosi* (named by Steshenko-Kuptina) would be the left side.

Notated sources are provided in the works by Steshenko-Kuptina and Rosebashvili; the former researcher uses optional notes for some features (score example 1), while the latter does not. Taking the international practice into consideration, I think that marking

¹⁵ I would like to thank researchers Edgardo Civallero and Rūta Šimonytė-Žarskienė for information and consultation.

the pipes with numbers provides crucial information, and thus I do this in my own notation examples.

a)

b)

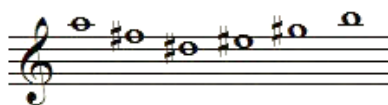
c)

Score example 1. Notated sources with optional notes (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 273, 274, 276).

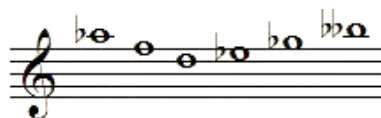
Tuning

In the audio and notated sources of the Georgian panpipe available to us, 21 tunings are recorded. There are nine notated tunings of the *larchemi* (score example 2: 1-9) and three of the *soinari* (score example 4: 10-12), though in audio recordings there are four tunings of the *larchemi* (audio examples [8](#), [14](#), [18](#), [22](#)) and three of the *soinari* (audio examples [1](#), [5](#), [25](#)). Also, there are other tunings for each instrument that are not recorded separately, although they are evident from the playing (audio examples [7](#), [30](#)).

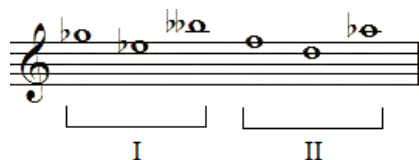
2.1. Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 273



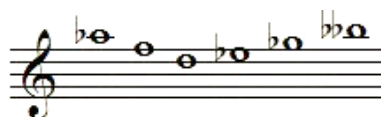
2.2.a. Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 275



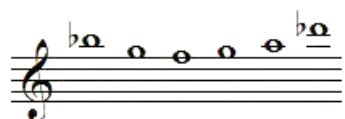
2.2.b. Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 275



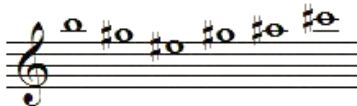
2.3. Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 276



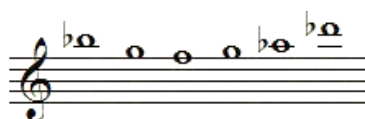
2.4. Rosebashvili, 1975, 1981: 45



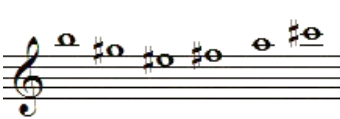
2.5. Rosebashvili, 1986: 2



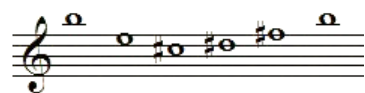
2.6. Rosebashvili, 1975, 1986: 3



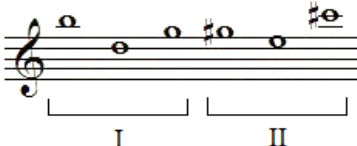
2.7. Rosebashvili, 1975, 1981: 45



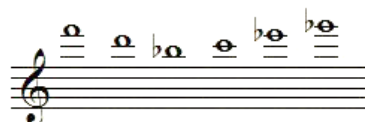
2.8. Rosebashvili, 1981: 45



2.9. Rosebashvili, 1981: 45



2.10. Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 278



2.11. Rosebashvili, 1985: [1, 5]



2.12. Rosebashvili, 1985: [3]



Score example 2. Tunings of *larchemis* and *soinaris*

I aim to determine the interaction of these tunings, to make corrections in notated tunings based on the analysis of audio sources if necessary, and to identify technical flaws in the notated tunings that reduce the number of notated tunings. While determining, identifying and notating the tunings the main basis is the principles of tuning provided by Steshenko-Kuptina.

Analyzing frequencies

Steshenko-Kuptina transferred each note to a monochord string tuned according to a tuning fork, to measure the frequencies of the *larchemi* and *soinari*. She considered this method to be more objective than measuring it with a wind instrument (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 226). In that way she measured the pitches of the pipes of five tuned instruments in hertz (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 167, 168, 226; Table 3: 1-4).

Table 3. Analyzing frequencies of *larchemis* and *soinaris* (Стешенко-Куптіна, 1936: 167)

3.1. I larchemi

	6 th pipe	5 th pipe	4 th pipe	3 rd pipe	2 nd pipe	1 st pipe
Hertz	903	734	613	701	830	1008
Cent	-358,735	-311,872	232,2328	292	336,3749	
	A	Fis	Dis	Eis	Gis	H

3.2. II larchemi

	6 th pipe	5 th pipe	4 th pipe	3 rd pipe	2 nd pipe	1 st pipe
Hertz	839	701	580	631	746	896
Cent	-311,108	-328,034	145,9045	290	317,1877	
	A	Fis	Dis	Eis	Gis	H

3.3. III larchemi

	6 th pipe	5 th pipe	4 th pipe	3 rd pipe	2 nd pipe	1 st pipe
Hertz	863	716	583	606	739	903
Cent	-323,281	-355,756	66,98629	344	346,9819	
	A	Fis	Dis	Eis	Gis	H

3.4. Soinari

	6 th pipe	5 th pipe	4 th pipe	3 rd pipe	2 nd pipe	1 st pipe
Hertz	1398	1217	970	1069	1290	1496
Cent	-240,042	-392,727	168,2462	325,3311	357,337	
	F	D	B	C	Es	Ges

I have measured audio samples of tunings and repertoire of five *larchemis* and five *soinaris* in the program Adobe Audition¹⁶. For some notes I chose different enharmonic variants depending on which note would be relevant to the tuning principle of V. Steshenko-Kuptina. Based on the hertz measured by me and determined by Steshenko-Kuptina, I calculated the distance between notes (in cents) for each tuning, with the pitch sequences and scales set out in Table 4.

Table 4. Analyzing frequencies of *larchemis* and *soinaris*

	6 th pipe		5 th pipe		4 th pipe		3 rd pipe		2 nd pipe		1 st pipe	
I Larchemi (audio ex. 8)	860 Hertz	A5 -25 cents	719 Hertz	F#5 -49 cents	625 Hertz	D#5 +7 cents	715 Hertz	F5 + 41 cents	806 Hertz	Ab5 -47 cents	1020 Hertz	C6 -20 cents
II Larchemi (audio ex. 14)	880 Hertz	A5	760 Hertz	G5 -55 cents	647 Hertz	E5 -30 cents	740 Hertz	F#5 +1 cents	850 Hertz	A5 -60 cents	993 Hertz	Ces5 +10 cents
III Larchemi (audio ex. 18)	883 Hertz	A5 +5 cents	580 Hertz	D5 -21 cents	495 Hertz	H4 +5 cents	554 Hertz	C#5 -1 cents	677 Hertz	E5 +47 cents	876 Hertz	A5 -7 cents
IV Larchemi (audio ex. 22)	890 Hertz	A5 +21 cents	699 Hertz	F5 +2 cents	540 Hertz	C5 +55 cents	692 Hertz	D5 +15 cents	741 Hertz	F#5 +2 cents	971 Hertz	H5 -29 cents
V Larchemi (audio ex. 30)			747,71 Hertz	F#5 +17 cents	630,65 Hertz	D#5 +23 cents	708,3 Hertz	F5 +24 cents	808,39 Hertz	G#5 - 46 cents	993,82 Hertz	H5 +10 cents
I Soinari (audio ex. 1)	1343 Hertz	E6 +33 cents	1150 Hertz	D6 -36 cents	948 Hertz	B5 +28 cents	1051 Hertz	C6 -11 cents	1279 Hertz	Eb -7 cents	1479 Hertz	Gb -0 cents
II Soinari (audio ex. 5)	1014 Hertz	H5 +45 cents	854 Hertz	Ab5 +48 cents	699 Hertz	F5 +2 cents	770 Hertz	G5 -30 cents	996 Hertz	H5 -36 cents	1151,11 Hertz	D6 -35 cents
III Soinari (audio ex. 7)	936 Hertz	B5 +6 cents	735 Hertz	Gb5 -10 cents	630 Hertz	Eb5 +22 cents	699 Hertz	F5 +2 cents	814 Hertz	Ab5 -32 cents	964 Hertz	Cb5 -41 cents
IV Soinari (audio ex. 25)	932 Hertz	B5 +0 cents	822 Hertz	Ab5 -16 cents	633 Hertz	Eb5 +30 cents	698 Hertz	F5 -0 cents	779 Hertz	G5 -9 cents	875 Hertz	A5 -8 cents
V Soinari (audio ex. 32)	1398 Hertz	F +1 cents	1217 Hertz	D +61 cents	970 Hertz	B +68 cents	1069 Hertz	C +36 cents	1290 Hertz	Eb +62 cents	1496 Hertz	Gb +18 cents

¹⁶ I am grateful to Levan Veshapidze and Ilia Jgharkava for teaching me the methodology of measuring hertz and cents and for consulting me as I worked.

Tuning the instrument

Steshenko-Kuptina recorded the technique of the tuning process for the *soinari*: “the great bass is thought to be the principal tone, from which they find the minor bass at a distance of about $3/4$ ¹⁷ tones. From both of the basses they find both thirds. When assessing the tuning, they use two corrective methods: the first bass and the right third¹⁸ and the second bass with the left third¹⁹; then they assess the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth voices” (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 212). Steshenko-Kuptina is of the opinion that the West Georgian panpipe has such clear tuning and firm principles of tuning that we can consider it as a musical system (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 224). She recorded the method used for assessing and defining the tunings – stuffing the pipes with sand or corn flour (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 208).

Steshenko-Kuptina herself was guided by the principles of tuning and notation mentioned above. She notated the tunings and the repertoire by preferring the aural impression and selecting an enharmonic version for the sounds²⁰. Sometimes, the hertz values and notes selected by her do not match. For instance, each of the ‘thirds played on the bass pipe’ is provided by the researcher in every notated sample (score example 2: 1-3, 10), although, according to her hertz analysis, when playing the outer pipes sequentially, the thirds do not always occur. If in the tempered tuning the distances between minor thirds are 300 cents, here, the distance between the notes varies from 240 to 360 cents. For instance, using the main principles of the instrument tuning: if the distance between the 6th and 5th pipes was 240 cents (table 3: 4), which causes it to sound closer to a major second (audio example [32](#), [40](#)), she still records it as the notes F and D; this way she also takes her aural impression into consideration, because these two pipes sound to her close to a minor third apart (audio example [34](#), [41](#)²¹). It was these ‘differences’ Steshenko-Kuptina was referring to when noting that in process of tuning of *larchemi* and *soinari* performers were using aural criteria that sometimes caused fluctuation and deviation.

¹⁷ In other words, 150 cents in tempered tuning.

¹⁸ The researcher implies third produced by pipes 4, 5 and 6.

¹⁹ The researcher implies pipe 3 and third produced by pipes 2 and 1.

²⁰ For instance, if it is possible to record the note of 1217 herz as Es (-38 cents), she recorded as D (+62 cents).

²¹ In the audio example 41, the last interval sounds as the third, repeated several times.

In the 1950s, Rosebashvili's point of view about the firmness of the tuning, compared to that of Steshenko-Kuptina, seems less definitive. According to his observations, the interval sizes between the pipes depend on musical taste of the performer and the maker of the instrument, and also on the skill level of the performer – what intervals or sound combinations they want to create in the pieces they play. Such a free approach to the tuning of the instrument is not otherwise known to us, so it seems doubtful – perhaps it is the impression of the researcher, or just a story from an informant. In Rosebashvili's audio recordings and scores we encounter second and fourth intervals that in my opinion are related to faulty instrument tuning and construction.

Larchemi and soinari tunings

Fieldwork expedition sources recorded by K. Rosebashvili and O. Chijavadze have historical importance, although in the research by K. Rosebashvili there are some flaws, especially in terms of tuning and of notating the repertoire.

While the tuning notations of the *larchemi* by Steshenko-Kuptina are always similar (although sometimes there is a major second between the fourth and third pipes, sometimes a minor second), the recordings by K. Rosebashvili are quite different. He recorded audio samples of five tunings (four *larchemis* and one *soinari*), but in the notated versions of these recordings there are seven tunings (six on *larchemi* and one on *soinari*). My research has led me to the following conclusions. Firstly, none of the notated repertoires matches precisely its recorded audio version. Secondly, it looks from the tunings of the four pieces recorded from Dzokia Aronia as if the performer plays four different instruments, but from the audio recordings we can verify that he used only two different instruments (score example 3: 1–4). Thirdly, sometimes the notated sample does not match the indicated tuning. Three out of four tunings match neither his audio recordings, nor the repertoire notated by him. Thus, musical analysis based on Rosebashvili's notated samples gave us faulty conclusions, both in Rosebashvili's own work, and in general.

Score example 3.1. See the list of the notated instrumental pieces, #11. Musical ex. #10.

Score example 3.2. See the list of the notated instrumental pieces, #12. Musical ex. #16.

Score example 3.3. See the list of the notated instrumental pieces, #13. Musical ex. #13.



Score example 3.4. See the list of the notated instrumental pieces, #14. Musical ex. #17

At the beginning of my work with tunings I grouped audio samples recorded at different times and played by different performers. It was obvious that Dzokia Aronia's repertoire was recorded by K. Rosebashvili (1958) and O. Chijavadze (1959), and that only one player of *soinari*, Varden Meparishvili, was recorded by Sh. Mshvelidze (1931), V. Steshenko-Kuptina (1936) and K. Rosebashvili (1959). It turns out that the same performers were playing the same repertoire but using different instruments with different tunings in recordings from different years. Some of them almost exactly match the tunings and hertz measurements by Steshenko-Kuptina and the audio samples resurrected by the computer – I made an experiment on *soinari* repertoire recorded by this researcher, creating the audio versions of the fragments according to the hertz noted in these repertoires, which allowed me to listen to the real sound of the notated samples (audio example [33–39](#)).²²

The question inevitably arises: how can all of seven tunings of the *soinari*, recorded at different times, be independent and different from each other, if the performer plays the same repertoire but at different times? We should take into consideration the fact that sometimes these musical pieces do not sound precisely just like as any musical piece sounds on the instrument with no tuning.

We concluded that the various tunings available to us have the same basic principle and that the differences between them are connected to the damage to the instrument arising from different technical or objective causes. While notating the musical material and defining the tunings I took these flaws into account and tried to cause the repertoire to sound as I thought it had sounded before the instrument damage occurred (score example 4: 1–10).

²² I wish to thank Levan Veshapidze, who did the experiment. The sound timbre of the audio samples was taken from the audio recordings by Mshvelidze.

-25 cents -49 cents +10 cents +41 cents -47 cents +57 cents

6 5 4 3 2 1

a a1 a2 f.

a, a, a1, a1, a1, a1, fin, a2, f.

Score example 4.1. 1st tuning and 1st instrumental piece (see audio ex. [8, 9](#)).

Score example 4.2. 2nd instrumental piece in 1st tuning (see audio ex. [10](#))

Score example 4.3. 3rd instrumental piece in 1st tuning (see audio ex. [11](#), score ex. 3.1)

Score example 4.4. 4th instrumental piece in 1st tuning (see audio ex. [12](#))

Score example 4.5. 5th instrumental piece in 1st tuning (see audio ex. 13, score ex. 3.3)

Score example 4.6. 2nd tuning and 1st instrumental piece (see audio ex. 14, 15)

Score example 4.7. 2nd instrumental piece in 2nd tuning (see audio ex. 16, score ex. 3.2)

pp

3^o - 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5

5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5

3

Score example 4.8. 3rd instrumental piece in 2nd tuning (see audio ex. [17](#), score ex. 3.4)

I II

+2 cents +55 cents +21 cents +2 cents +15 cents -29 cents

Score example 4.9. 4th tuning and 3rd 'Nirzi' (see audio ex. [22](#), [24](#); score ex. 5.3)

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled 'Nirzi' in 4th tuning. The score is written on seven staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a sequence of notes with three triplet markings, each indicated by a bracket with the number '3' underneath. The subsequent staves continue the melodic line with various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The music is characterized by a consistent rhythmic pattern and a specific melodic contour.

Score example 4.10. 4th 'Nirzi' in 4th tuning (see audio ex. [23](#))

Social Function and Repertoire

We have more information about the *larchemi*'s social functions and repertoire than about those of the *soinari*. From the examples of *larchemi* repertoire available to us, there are three ensemble pieces - 'Nirzi'; solo instrumental pieces recorded by Rosebashvili are mainly 'Mtskemsuri', and most of the pieces recorded by Steshenko-Kuftina are dance examples.

The *larchemi* is considered to be the instrument of shepherds in Georgia. There is documentation about three ways of playing it, related to herding the cattle: first while going to pasture, second while grazing, and third while coming back home (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 211). In addition, villagers played the *larchemi* during weddings and while marching after the overnight rituals of religious holidays (Makalatia, 1941: 257). The *larchemi* was also used to heal the sick through the ritual of ‘catching the soul’, in which four Megrelian players participated. In this case the voice of the *larchemi* (which sounds like someone whistling) was considered to represent the soul of the dead, and the instrument was used to summon or catch the soul (Rosebashvili, 1960: 51).

The Gurian *soinari* was connected to farming and traveling, especially traveling at night. As researchers note, this may be related to the ancient Greek habit of refraining from playing during the daytime so as not to awake the god Pan (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 214-215).

According to the notes recorded by Steshenko-Kuptina, villagers played the *larchemi* with the *daira* (frame drum) and Svanetian *chianuri*, (bowed lute). Also, in the ceremony after Holy Thursday, they played it with the *daira* and wooden trumpet (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 210).

There was a form of competition between two *larchemi* players in Samegrelo called ‘Nirzi’, an instrumental dialogue, in which two performers divided the instrument into two (3+3) and competed with each other. The winner was the one who played different tunes longer (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 209; Makalatia, 1941: 257; Rosebashvili, 1960: 50-51). When the *larchemi* was divided into two, each set of three pipes was arranged so that the longest one was located in the middle.

Analysis of the Musical Samples

The range of repertoire for the *larchemi* and *soinari* matches the range of their tunings. The lowest (fourth pipe) and the highest (first pipe) are used in all of the pieces. Hence, the range of the repertoire may be the interval of a sixth or seventh (5th-1st pipes), while the stable intonation frame is within the perfect fourth (5th-2nd pipes).

Vertical harmony is mostly based on the movement of thirds. There are no seconds. Based on the tuning, to produce a second one would have to simultaneously play both of

the bass pipes (4th and 3rd), although, as I mentioned above, these pipes are never heard at the same time, as they match the 7th and the 1st steps of the scale. It is noted in the scholarly literature that three-voice polyphony can be heard only in questionable and fragmentary form on Georgian panpipes (Zhghenti, 2017: 202), although, when we studied the audio material, it was evident that there was also a real three-voice polyphony (audio example [40](#)).

Pieces for the Georgian panpipe have a cyclical form²³ (there are no contrasting sections, but there are signs of cyclical variation²⁴); the form is always open, and the duration of the piece depends on the performer.

In the repertoire of the instruments with limited pitch and harmony, dramaturgical development is achieved via the following methods: alternating time signatures between 2/4 and 3/4; changing the vertical harmony in the same stanzas (playing vertical chords consisting of two or three notes on the same beat of the bar and intervals or three-note chords sounding simultaneously, as well as in arpeggio form); syncopated or accented rhythm; and finally, shouts inserted after each quarter in the identical melodic formulas. As for the pieces with shouts, the shouts appear in the culminating sections of the cycling form, after certain parts of the cycle, and provide optimum dynamic development. These are not individualized melodies, but non-individualized short intonation formulas characteristic of archaic musical thinking, the ostinato-variation repetition of which creates phrases and stanzas. Signs of heterophony are also apparent.

In the three notated recordings of the 'Nirzi' available to us (score example 5: 1–3), we see that five *larchemis* out of six had three pipes, and only one had six pipes (score example 5: 2). This instrumental piece is, in my opinion, an unsuccessful musical experiment, for three reasons. First, an atypical composition of the pipes is used – 6+3 (according to the informant, two parts of one instrument must be used here to get the appropriate sound). Second, registers of the six-pipe and three-pipe flutes are significantly different. Third, one of the performers was young and inexperienced, and struggled with tuning the pipes.

²³ Steshenko-Kuptina united the samples of Varden Meparishvili as cyclical form and noted that this proves that panpipe was a highly developed instrument (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 213).

²⁴ Cyclical variation form is characteristic of Georgian instrumental music, for example, in the repertoires of the *chonguri* (bowed lute), *panduri* (plucked lute), *chiboni* (bagpipe), etc.

МНОГОСТВОЛЬНАЯ ФЛЕЙТА №2

СТРУКТУРА СТРОЯ В ЧАСТОТАХ КОЛЕБАНИЙ РАСПОЛОЖЕНИЕ В ПОСЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬНОСТИ ВЫСОТ ИНТЕРВАЛЫ СТРОЯ В ЦЕНТАХ

839 701 580 631 746 896 311 328 147 290 317

НИЖЕПРИВЕДЕННЫЙ НАИГРЫШ ИГРАЛИ РАЗДЕЛИВ ИНСТРУМЕНТ ПОПОЛАМ МЕЖДУ ИСПОЛНИТЕЛЯМИ. У КАЖДОГО Т. ОБР. ПО 3 ТРУБКИ

РАСПОЛАГАЮТ ТАК:

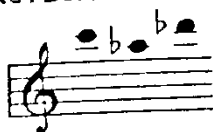
III. * *

ИСП. ВИЦИ ЛИПИЯ И КОЦИЯ КУХЕЛАВА

♩=120

Score example 5.1. 1st 'Nirzi' (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 275)

ТРЕХСТВОЛЬНАЯ ФЛЕЙТА



МНОГОСТВОЛЬНАЯ ФЛЕЙТА №1

СТРУКТУРА СТРОЯ В ЧАС- ТОТАХ КОЛЕБАНИЙ	РАСПОЛОЖЕНИЕ В ПОСЛЕ- ДОВАТЕЛЬНОСТИ ВЫСОТ	ИНТЕРВАЛЫ СТРОЯ В ЦЕНТАХ
		
863 716 583 606 739 903		323 355 67 343 347

VI. ОСХАПУРИ

ИСП. ВАС. ГУЛА
И ЕГО ВНУК

♩ = 96



ПРОПУСК

Score example 5.2. 2nd 'Nirzi' (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 277)

ნირზი (ზეჯიზი)
(ორ სამლულიან ლარჩემზე)

18

НИРЗИ (СОРЕВНОВАНИЕ)
(НА ДВЕ ТРЕХСТВОЛЬНЫЕ
ЛАРЧЕМИ)

Score example 5.3. 3rd 'Nirzi' (Rosebashvili, 1981: 46; see score ex. 4.9)

K. Rosebashvili noted that the tuning and compositions of the *larchemi* preserved to date have little in common with the laws of general Georgian vocal style (Rosebashvili, 1986: 16). However, many aspects of construction and repertoire reveal several indications of this connection:

- The names of the pipes, functionally matching the sounds they produce;
- Movement via parallel thirds, which is characteristic of complex polyphony (Shilakadze, 1970: 68);
- Matching of the intensively used pipes to the 7th-1st-2nd-3rd steps;
- Matching of the bass pipes and 1st and 7th steps of the scale, and intensive use of them in a similar context;
- Altering of the sound of the pipe called *krimanchuli/tsvrili* in tunings of different instruments;
- The fifth pipe matching the second step, sounding only with the fourth pipe matching the 7th step of the scale.

After studying the musical material it was possible to classify the repertoire of the panpipe, based on specific criteria, taking contemporary tendencies into consideration (table 5).

Table 5. Classification of the repertoire of the panpipe, based on specific criteria

Criterion	Larchemi/Soinari repertoire	
Genre	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shepherd 2. Dance piece 3. Without clear social function 4. Stage music (contemporary practice) 	
Form of performing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Solo 2. Ensemble <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Several ensembles of six-pipe instruments b. 'Nirzi': two three-pipe (one instrument divided into two) instrument ensembles 3. Instrumental inserted in poetry 	Instrumental
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Three seven-pipe instruments with singing choir (contemporary practice) 	Vocal-instrumental
Musical form	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One part 2. Cycle (variational cycle) 3. Contrast-compiled cycle 	
Development principle	Ostinato-variational, free ostinato	
Structure/type of the polyphony	Heterophony, ostinato	
Scale	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Diminished scale, with scale centre: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1. On the third pipe 1.2. On the fourth pipe 2. Sonorous scale 	
Cadence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Open 2. Closed 	
Tuning	Diminished three-note chords. Distance between bass pipes: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Minor second 2. Major second 3. Augmented second 	
Diapason	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sixth 2. Seventh 	
Performing technique	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. With shouts (<i>dasakviri</i>) 4. Without shouts 	
Number of pipes used	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 5 pipes 2. 6 pipes 	

Conclusion

The Georgian panpipe is one of an ancient pieces of the Georgian instrumentarium. It stands out among the world's pan flutes with its original construction and polyphonic mode of performance. Despite the fact that the instrument has disappeared from everyday life, the scores and audio sources available to us, has allowed me to research the unknown features of the instrument, such as tuning and performance issues.

Some people in Samegrelo wish to restore the instrument to performance. I think it is possible that the methodology of notation of the score and audio sources available to us that I have provided could be the beginning of the revival of the instrument.

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List of Score and Audio Examples:

Notated instrumental pieces:

1. Untitled. Larchemi. Performed by Vitsi Pipia. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 273, I).
2. *Khasanbegura*. Larchemi. Performed by Vitsi Pipia. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 274, II).
3. Untitled. Larchemi. Performed by Vitsi Pipia and Kotsia Kukhilava. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 275, III).
4. *Oskhapuri*. Larchemi. Performed by Vasil Gulua. Tskhakaia, Samegrelo, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 276, IV).
5. *Obireshi*. Larchemi. Performed by Vasil Gulua. Tskhakaia, Samegrelo, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 276, V).
6. *Oskhapuri*. Larchemi. Performed by Vasil Gulua and his son. Tskhakaia, Samegrelo, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 277, VI).
7. *First piece*. Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 278, VIIA).

8. *Satsekvaio* (dance example). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 278, VIIB).
9. Untitled. Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 278, VIIД).
10. *Sasimghero* (vocal example). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 193? (Steshenko-Kuptina, 1936: 278, VIIC).
11. *Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1975, 1981: 45, 1985: 4, 1986: 1). Audio instrumental piece #10.
12. *Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1986: 2). Audio instrumental piece #16.
13. *Mtskemsuri dadzakhili* (Shepherd's, with exclamations). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1996: 3). Audio instrumental piece #13.
14. *Mtskemsuri dasakviri* (shepherd's, with exclamations). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1996: 3). Audio instrumental piece #17.
15. *Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's). Larchemi. Performed by Gera Kukhilava. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1981: 45, 1985: 5, 1986: 5, I). Audio instrumental piece #19.
16. *Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's). Larchemi. Performed by Gera Kukhilava. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1981: 45, 1985: 5, 1986: 6, II). Audio instrumental piece #20.
17. *Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's). Larchemi. Performed by Gera Kukhilava. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1981: 46, 1985, 1986: 6, III). Audio instrumental piece #21.

18. *Nirzi* (competition). With two three-pipe larchemis. Performed by Gera and Grigol Kukhilavas. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1981: 46, 1985: 6, 1986: 4). Audio instrumental piece #24.
19. *Satsekvao* (dance example). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1959 (Rosebashvili, 1985: [1]). Audio instrumental piece #29.
20. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1959 (Rosebashvili, 1985: [2]). Audio instrumental piece #28.
21. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1958 (Rosebashvili, 1985: [1]). Audio instrumental piece #27.

Audio examples:

1. Tuning (I). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Kokhnari, Chokhatauri, recorded in 1931 (Mshvelidze, 2007: CD5, #18), 0:39.
2. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece in I tuning). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1931 (Mshvelidze, 2007: CD5, #16), 0:30.
3. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece in I tuning). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1931 (Mshvelidze, 2007: CD5, #17), 1:32.
4. *Dasakravi shedzakhilebit* (instrumental piece with exclamations in I tuning). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1931 (Mshvelidze, 2007: CD5, #20), 0:35.
5. Gr. Sharabidze's Tuning (II). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1931 (Mshvelidze, 2007: CD5, #21), 0:35.
6. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece in big soinari, II tuning). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1931 (Mshvelidze, 2007: CD5, #22), 2:05.

7. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece in big soinari, III tuning). Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria, recorded in 1931 (Mshvelidze, 2007: CD5, #19), 1:28.
8. Tuning (I). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (the Archive of Georgian Folk Music Laboratory of Tbilisi State Conservatoire [AGFML], expedition tape #99, 00:00-00:45), 0:41.
9. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in I tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 00:45-01:10), 0:22.
10. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in I tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 2:08-02:38), 0:29.
11. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in I tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 2:39-03:05), 0:26. Notated instrumental piece #11.
12. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in I tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 03:05-03:32), 0:27.
13. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece with exclamations, in I tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 04:01-04:27), 0:22. Notated instrumental piece #13.
14. Tuning (II). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 01:10-01:35), 0:11.
15. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in II tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 01:35-02:08), 0:33.
16. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in II tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 03:32-04:01), 0:28. Notated instrumental piece #12.

17. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece with exclamations, in II tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 04:27-04:42), 0:14. Notated instrumental piece #14.
18. Tuning (III). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 06:28-06:52), 0:20.
19. *I Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's, in III tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Gera Kukhilava. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 06:52-07:30), 0:37. Notated instrumental piece #15.
20. *II Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's, in III tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Gera Kukhilava. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 07:30-08:10), 0:39. Notated instrumental piece #16.
21. *III Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's, in III tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Gera Kukhilava. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 08:10-08:53), 0:43. Notated instrumental piece #17.
22. Tuning (IV). Larchemi. Performed by Gera and Grigol Kukhilavas. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 04:55-05:17), 0:20.
23. *I Nirzi* (competition, in IV tuning). With two three-pipe larchemis. Performed by Gera and Grigol Kukhilavas. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 05:17-05:58), 0:41.
24. *II Nirzi* (competition, in IV tuning). With two three-pipe larchemis. Performed by Gera and Grigol Kukhilavas. Chkvaleri, Samegrelo. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1958 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 05:58-06:28), 0:29. Notated instrumental piece #18.
25. Tuning (IV). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1959 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 12:41-13:31). 0:58.
26. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, fragment, in IV tuning). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1959 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 09:20-10:15), 0:59.

27. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in IV tuning). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1959 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 09:20-10:15), 0:59. Notated instrumental piece #21.
28. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in IV tuning, with singing). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1959 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 11:16-11:09), 1:29. Notated instrumental piece #20.
29. *Dasakravi* (instrumental piece, in IV tuning, with exclamations). Soinari. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Tsipnari, Guria. Recorded by K. Rosebashvili, 1959 (AGFML, expedition tape #99, 13:39-15:14), 1:44. Notated instrumental piece #19.
30. *Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's, in V tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Varden Meparishvili. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by O. Chijavadze, 1959 (AGFML, expedition tape #82:16), 1:13.
31. *Mtskemsuri* (shepherd's, in V tuning). Larchemi. Performed by Dzokia Aronia. Muzhava, Samegrelo. Recorded by O. Chijavadze, 1959 (AGFML, expedition tape #82:13), 1:13.
- 32–39. The audio samples resurrected by the computer. (32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39)
40. The three-voice polyphony.

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Modern Laments in Northwestern Greece, Their Importance in Social and Musical Life and the “Making” of Oral Tradition

ABSTRACT

Having as a starting point a typical phrase -“all our songs once were laments”- repeated to the researcher during fieldwork, this study aims to explore the multiple ways in which lament practices become part of other musical practices in community life or change their functionalities and how they contribute to music making. Though the meaning of this typical phrase seems to be inexplicable, nonetheless as a general feeling it is shared by most of the people in the field. Starting from the Epirot instrumental ‘moiroloi’, extensive field research reveals that many vocal practices considered by former researchers to be imitations of instrumental musical practices, are in fact, definite lament vocal practices-cries, embodied and reformed in different ways in other musical contexts and serving in this way different social purposes. Furthermore, multiple functionalities of lament practices in social life reveal their transformations into songs and the ways they contribute to music making in oral tradition while at the same time confirming the flexibility of the border between lament and song established by previous researchers.

KEYWORDS

Lament practices
Death rituals
Moiroloi
Musical speech
Lament-song
Symbolic meaning
Collective memory

The first attempts¹ to document Greek folk songs in texts by both Greeks and foreigners included references to, or descriptions of, lament practices. Claude Fauriel, in his book on Greek folk songs, describes the lament of a woman in Metsovo (Fauriel, 1824; Padiotis, 1988: 114-115)². At the very beginning of the 20th century, Wace and Thompson described a funeral in the village of *Samarina* (Wace-Thompson, 1989: 124-126), noting the co-existence of both Greek and Vlach languages³. On the island of Chios, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the first documentation of Greek-speaking lament melodies, by Hubert Pernot and Paul de Flem, appeared complete with musical transcriptions (Pernot & deFlem, 2006: 174-189).

Lament practices in Greece can still be found (though with much difficulty), mainly among the older generation. They are heard very rarely at funerals today. Nonetheless, they have been preserved in Greece and in Eastern Europe more than in Western Europe, not least because the relative leniency of the Orthodox Church towards pagan traditions aided their survival (Tolbert, 1990: 80), whatever the fears and reactions might be⁴. The relative leniency of the Church is given symbolic expression in certain oral traditions among women attributing a special meaning to their lament practices: “The Virgin Mary herself ordered the women to cry for her Son. You women please cry for my Son.... The Virgin Mary lamented for the first time

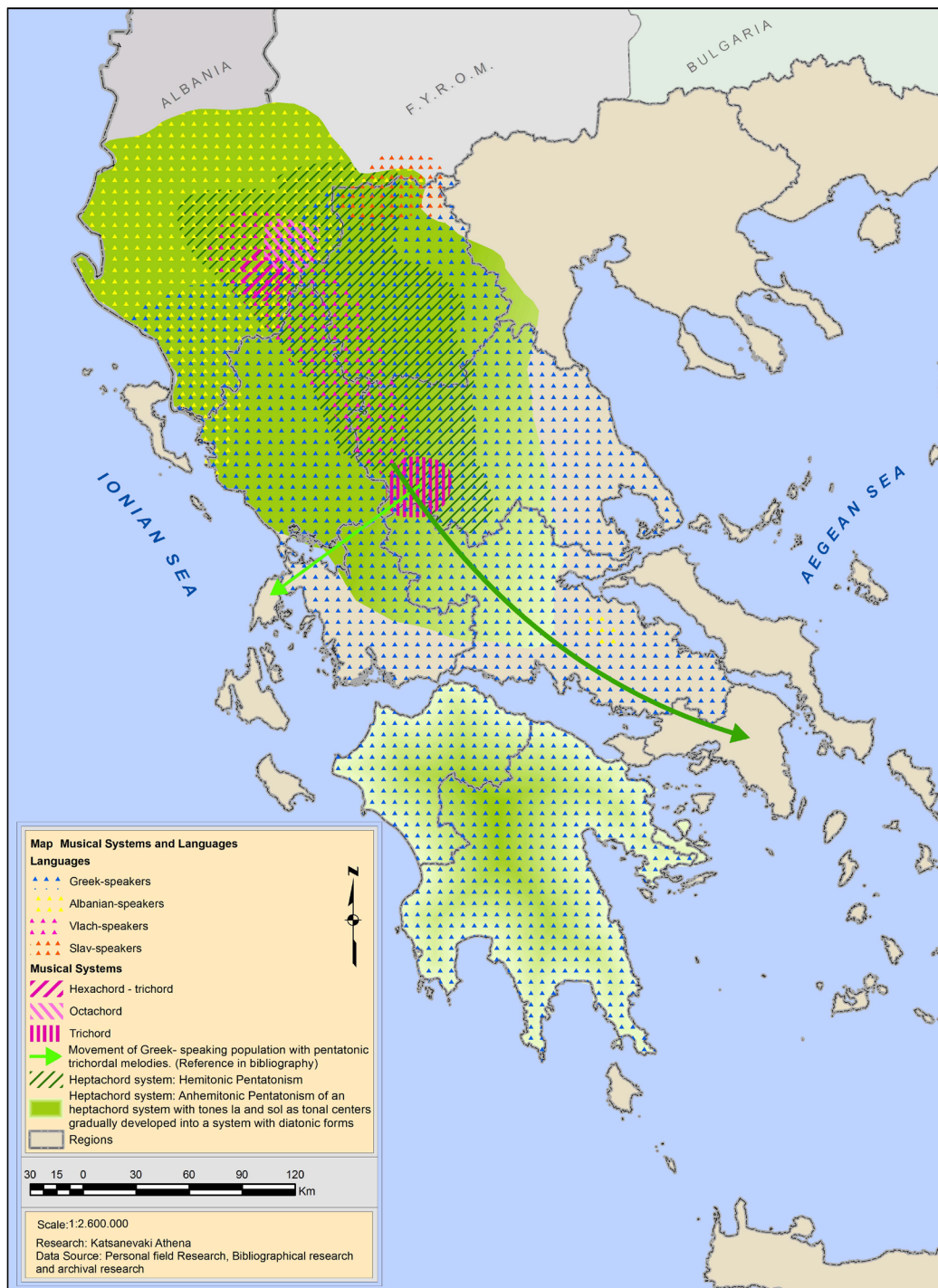
¹ This chapter is based on fieldwork that has been presented on various occasions (see Katsanevaki, 1991; 1998-1999; 2006; 2009; 2011; 1998-2014). Research (in the years 1990-2014) took place in small-scale communities (of about 200) and in towns, with reference to the vocal music of the Pindus Mountain-range and the surrounding areas. The result was a compilation of more than 320 sung laments originating from almost 84 villages, most of them in Greek but also in Vlach (an eastern Romance language) and in the local Southern Slav dialect of Greek Macedonia. Fieldwork considered each community as a unique locus in order to perform comparative work (see Szirmai, 1967: 315) in related cultural areas within a network developed through my personal relationships with the locals. For a summary of the results considering the musical systems, languages, cries and melodies see the maps at the end of this chapter. Musical examples 3, 9, 14, 19 are representative melodies of the musical data compiled in the three different languages of the area. They all follow the same musical system and the same rules for music making (**Map 1**. The musical systems and languages).

² In the years 1994-1995, during my field research in Metsovo, I documented laments (*botsi* in Vlach): there is one fixed melody upon which the text is improvised in fixed verses (for the musical transcription and texts, Katsanevaki, 1998 Part B: 497-503).

³ I confirmed this during my field research.

⁴ See Lysaght, 1997: 67-68 for the restrictions to lamenting imposed in Ireland by the Catholic Church.

for her Son Jesus Christ” ([comment during an interview in Kotyli – Grammos Mountain](#)). Similar notions are found in the text of the *Lament of the Virgin Mary*: “You My Mother don’t kill yourself, because all mothers will kill themselves, but instead console yourself, so that all mothers will do the same” (sung in the village of *Chorygos*).



In the map, only concrete linguistic areas are defined
 It is possible to note smaller linguistic areas with different languages in some of the areas.

Map 1. The musical systems and languages

The emotional dimension of lament practices is apparent in earlier descriptions of funerals (Fauriel, 1824: 82)⁵. For the women I interviewed it was usually hard to sing even a few verses of a lament. The women would refuse to sing them out of context⁶. In any case, if their children were at home or if it was the time of a village feast or a wedding, they believed that lamenting would destroy the festive mood of the occasion. And if an ailing husband was at home, to sing a lament would be to tempt fate. The symbolic meaning of the laments is so closely linked to death, that to these women, it seemed all but inevitable that a performance of laments might actually cause a death (see also in De la Breteque, 2010: 10). Laments would also remind them of the suffering they had experienced in the past. This, in fact, reveals the special functionality and power of lament practices, their capacity to release the suppressed psychological and physical pain affecting the inner balance of those individuals in the community, who have suffered the feeling of deprivation death brings. Lament practices are so powerful that they can revive the feeling of deprivation and threaten the psychological balance again, so that in most cases attempts to record a lament would be interrupted either by me or by the performers themselves.

Nonetheless, there is also a common feeling among the local people in Western Greece, especially in the area around Pindus (namely Epirus, Western Macedonia and Thessaly), that somehow other songs, and vocal music more generally, are related to lament practices. This general idea was summarized in one typical phrase repeated to me during my field-research "*Ola ta tragoudia mas itan moiroloia*" [All our songs were once laments]⁷. Unable to understand the hidden meaning of these

⁵ Fauriel makes definite comments on the laments in Greece regarding the improvisation of the text, the existence of definite poetic metre and melodic pattern in each area of Greece, and of "very high-pitched", "sharp" musical tones at the end of the melodies (see the hie! phenomenon). He reports the importance of lamenting as an honour to the dead documenting that women practiced outside in the lands or the mountains to "compose" laments making appropriate texts in order to be ready in case of death (Fauriel, 1824: 79-81).

⁶ In one or two cases when the women I interviewed were semi-professional (meaning that they were recognized by the community for their capacity to perform the laments in the funerals) I did not have any difficulty in recording and their reactions were positive and represented their capacity and responsibility with comments like that "You know to how many people I have said farewell??" (i.e. in *Krokos Kozanis*).

⁷ In other areas there are similar notions as in the case of Asia Minor and the *amanedes* (Gail Holst-Warhaft, *Amanes: The Legacy of the Oriental Mother*, Section "The Amanes"). See also

words, I wondered if perhaps they originated from comments related to the striking effect of instrumental pieces known as '*moiroloia*' (laments), performed by clarinet players from Epirus at local festivals. After many years in the field, I came to realize that the phrase was true in a deeper sense, as an explanation and interpretation of the importance and the multitude of transformed functions of lament practices in community life:

Specific musical phenomena, together with the mobility of both melodies and texts as they are transferred from one social function to another, offer concrete evidence for this thesis, which on the face of it might seem a little naïve.

Previous Research and the Purpose of This Research

Lament practices in Greece have long been a focus for the social and textual analysis of formal and improvised texts⁸. Though most research has focused on the social dimension, and on textual analysis in a social context, certain researchers have made comments that reveal the need for a more systematic approach to the musical dimension of lament practices. Danforth makes an initial comment about the surface melodic similarity between lament and song melodies, but without further musical analysis (Danforth, 2004: 157). Herzfeld's work reflects the necessity to research the musical context of lament practices (Herzfeld, 1981: 51-52). He finds small hints in

in the same work about relationships between laments and lullabies (op.cit), (though I didn't have such hints in my area of research). Texts and songs that refer to the Fall of Cities equally participate to the probable relation of laments to songs, especially the *Amanedes*, (Gail Holst Warhaft, 2016: 252-269).

⁸ The texts of the Greek laments were a major topic of philological research (Kassis, 1979, 1980, 1981; Tsouderos, 1976), with the most important contribution by Guy Saunier, who comments on the lament texts and offers a detailed description of the ritual context in Greece (Cuy Saunier, 1999). Apart from the work by Margaret Alexiou (based on social context, text and historical analysis), one of the most important works that gives information to many aspects of this paper but in a textual, historical, and a context analysis is the work of Gail Holst-Warhaft who also points on the dangers of a site-specific work in anthropology (Gail Holst-Warhaft, 1992: 32-33). Many conclusions of her work as well as of the anthropological analysis of previous researchers are supported by the musical analysis in this paper. Other anthropological studies include Lalioti's dissertation (Lalioti, 1993) and the work of Psychogiou (Psychogiou, 1998). There were other contributions with a focus on specific social dimensions, such as Seremetakis 1990: 505, 507; Caraveli, 1980: 138; Caraveli, 1982: 140, 154; Herzfeld, 1993: 243-244. Loring Danforth's work "The death rituals in rural Greece", is a detailed description of the ritual in a village close to Mount Olympus, with an analysis of the social context. About the melodies of the laments of *Asterousia* in Crete see Rassidakis-Spohr (1990), and Kouri (1994) for a Maniot lament melody.

literature about the musical and textual similarities between lament and song, but no information that might indicate “how far rural Greeks themselves consciously perceive any kind of connection between stylistic resemblance and ritual meaning”. He concludes that “if one could similarly show that Greek villagers made explicit reference to musical parallels between wedding songs and *miroloia* when discussing actual events in their own communities, the nature of the analogy between the two genres would become more accessible” (Herzfeld, 1981: 51-52). Since such explicit comments are not part of any spontaneous dialogue or discussion among local people, it seems that Herzfeld’s point might have more relevance in the case of the kind of indirect information I was given (‘all our songs once were laments’). Herzfeld’s and Danforth’s brief comments on the musical relationship between laments and songs can be verified by detailed documentation and analysis of local musical genres in a wide range of communities, and this was the first aim of my research.

In this, my aims coincided with those of Auerbach (1983-1984, and 1987). Auerbach refers to women’s social transition from childhood to womanhood as a passage from carefree singing to laments, which embody the experience of pain and grief to the extent that it becomes a way of life. She mentions that in many cases women who have experienced both styles can change the style of melody and arrange the text in such a way as to pass from one style to the other in order to express the difference of mood they want to present properly. Actually, this study was the first to refer to the musical characteristics of the laments of ‘*Kalochori*’ and to discuss their links to a social function.

Concerning the flexibility of the boundary between lament and song, she focuses on song → lament (Auerbach, 1983-1984: 175-189, 209-228, 280-302) and not lament → song. However in this paper I suggest that, while the process song → lament is attested in the synchronic dimension and its analysis, the alternative process – lament → song is revealed over a much longer historical period attested in the extended network of melodies in related communities. I explained how this reveals the historical dimension of the melodies in Katsanevaki, 2012: 154-155; 1998-2014: 427-431).

Lament practices are thus presented as a major factor in musical creativity. When a song becomes a lament, it is usually about the text. When a lament becomes a song, the melody is involved too, because it serves very special symbolism in the course of a ritual. Music making in the case of lament practices is distinctive and carries its unique symbolism with it. It is also an aim of this paper to give some insight into how psychological impulses (related to human needs and survival strategies) become the main motive for the 'making' of laments, and in the end how they (the laments) are transferred into songs, and (less often), special song melodies into laments thus contributing to 'music making'. Therefore, this paper will focus mainly on musical form leaving some space for local witness and I hope to show how extended quantitative documentation of melodies supports the results of the anthropological qualitative research presented by previous researchers in Greece or elsewhere and that quantitative and qualitative research, if conducted carefully can share their results.

Some Concerns on the Methodology

My research in Northwestern Greece (see footnote 1) lasted 25 years and is still in progress. I decided to be involved with this area because it was almost completely unexplored. My research did not focus on laments exclusively but laments were part of a wider research project. My research was mainly quantitative, in the sense that my main purpose after my first encounter with the people and the culture (musical or not) in 1990, was to locate the local repertory and to document vocal styles and melodies in an area which suffered intensive depopulation after World War II and the Civil war, as well as an intensive urbanization. But any quantitative fieldwork is somehow qualitative, and vice versa. As Giorgi says, "good research design follows the sense of the investigation and should not automatically state in an a priori way, what strategies must be used" (Giorgi, 2005: 80). Throughout the process of documentation of the vocal repertoire and the information corresponding with each recording, I had spontaneous discussions with my interviewees, during which comments revealed messages, concepts, symbolisms or functionalities, which I evaluated within the progress of fieldwork in the same or related communities. These discussions were not all recorded, so I mention them in a more general way, as a personal experience in the field, or (in this paper) refer to the most

characteristic of them. The laments or the other melodies in the musical transcriptions were recorded in the field (but not in their context, as it is not usually found today) in places where the women would feel comfortable to sing or lament or expose their personal experiences (at home or elsewhere). But this doesn't significantly change the musical result. Their experience with these songs or laments is so bound up with the context they belonged to, that the difficulty is not so much to ensure their consistency with the same musical form as it is performed during the rituals, but to persuade them to sing or to lament out of context. When they decide to do it, they follow the same path as they used to. Nonetheless, when I had the possibility to document in the course of a performance, I would do it. But for ethical reasons, in the case of laments, though I could have done it twice, I avoided it. I always felt that it would be an intervention and an intrusion into their personal lives if I tried to record them at their most vulnerable moments. I felt that it would be appropriating their most precious inner feelings by bringing them under public scrutiny. So I preferred to record memorial services instead of funereal ones.

I also don't refer to extended local witness regarding information about the musical parallels among the songs and the laments or other musical characteristics. I don't document extended interviews, but short indirect comments or statements given many times during the recordings or (more often) during spontaneous communication. It is a risk for an interviewer to ask the interviewees definite questions about specific musical characteristics. Regarding the musical characteristics they might either give very general or even misleading information. Very definite questions might bring about wrong answers. For example, the interlocutors can confirm that two songs with similar melodies are 'absolutely' or 'very' different, just because one of them is sung in the neighboring community with which they wish to be separate for various even antagonistic reasons. So, I decided to rely on long-lasting personal experience and documentation, as well as on the spontaneous comments of the women.

Slide Practices and Human Speech Related to Lament Practices. ‘Tumbling Strains’ and Cries (the ‘hie!’ and the ‘lele!’)

When describing in words the characteristics of this musical culture, one might focus on the flexible line of melody and the frequent use of upwards or downwards *glissandi*. There is also a tendency to produce more intensive descending *glissandi* at the end of the melodic phrases (Auerbach, 1983-1984: 104). These descending *glissandi* have been considered universal practices, and were called by Sachs “tumbling strains” (op.cit and Sachs, 1962: 49-54)⁹.

Their importance for my analysis is their possible relationship with emotive speech, as recent research on music acoustics, music psychology, and history suggests that the “human voice is well suited to producing *portamento*, and that *portamento* is strongly related to emotional inflections in speech prosody, in that the voice often inflects spoken words to modulate it with an emotional meaning” (Schubert and Wolfe, 2013: 1-2, 5, 7).

At the same time, the frequent occurrence of cries (hie! and lele!) in the melodies of the region, while serving the funeral context as modes of weeping, also relates lament practices and songs to forms of emotive speech, and may help explain local information on the transfer of function from lament melodies and musical emotion into song.

⁹ These phenomena, believed by the *Kulturkreis* theories to be “an archaic surviving layer of European (and possibly Universal) folklore”, were not accepted as such by scholars in France, Britain and North America (Sorce-Keller, 2013: 1). Nonetheless, “no-one yet has proved the *Kulturkreis* approach to be wrong so far”, and “whether we look at them from a diffusionist (monogenetic) or on the contrary, a polygenetic outlook, it does not ultimately make any substantial difference, as both would lead us to believe that such widespread cultural traits go back to a past, prior to recorded history” (Sorce-Keller, 2013: 1). These practices are also found in Europe (Demo, 1981; Elshekova, 1981; Georgescu, 1981) and in Northern Albania (see in Leotsakos, 1985: 36, for the *maje kraje*-pastoral cries and in Kondi, 2006: 195-288 for the *Gjama*-male lament). They might be the starting point for the *glissando*-practice in Northern Epirus (Southern Albania) and in Western Greece (Katsanevaki, 1998 Part A: 40-55). The persistence and functional flexibility of these practices can be explained in the words of Puchner Walter: “Folk culture as a constant ideological system with great continuity capacity has no crisis of identity, but integrates every new stimulus in the co-ordination system of its tradition, transforming the stimulus and giving it a new social functionality” (Puchner, 1986: 1).

The Hie! Phenomenon and the Classification of its Functionality and Transformations in Musical and Social Contexts

In the female vocal repertory of Thessaly, Baud-Bovy observed for the first time (Baud-Bovy, 1984: 49) “a high hie!, which is sung on the 7th or the octave of the tonic”. Baud-Bovy didn’t relate this directly to lament practices but rather to practices found in present-day South-Western Bulgaria, attested to by Timothy Rice (Rice, 1977: v, 82, ex.29)¹⁰. Further fieldwork (Katsanevaki, 1998 Part A: 58) revealed that the *hie!* Attested to by Baud-Bovy was specific in form, different musically from other cries, and strongly related to lament practices in Epirus and Western Macedonia in Greece (and Southern Albania). In these areas we can find the most characteristic function of the *hie!* as a form of weeping in the Greek-speaking laments of the area of *Kalamas* (Epirus) (CD Liavas, Lambros & Nitsiakos Vasilis, track 21) and in Northern Epirus ([Video 1](#). Vlach speaking lament, and **Map 2**. The hie! phenomenon)

¹⁰ Laios refers to this practice regarding instrumental *moiroloi* (*lament*) without connecting it to the vocal lament practices (I did so in Katsanevaki, 1998: 54). He related it to instrumental *gaida* (bagpipe) practices (Laios, 2001: 59). Thus, although he refers to a general affiliation of the instrumental *moiroloi* to vocal laments (Laios, 2001: 4, 59, 60), he does not relate this practice specifically to lament practices (Laios, 2001: 55, 58, 59), also arguing that “not much previous work (on music) has been looked upon” (Laios, 2001: 3). In 2003, Lolis related this practice to vocal laments (Lolis, 2003: 52; 2006: 39). Tole also referred to this practice found in the polyphony of Southern Albania (Northern Epirus) as a practice reflecting lament practices (Tole 2012: 66-67). Androulaki attributes a special symbolism to this exclamation (Androulaki, 2003).

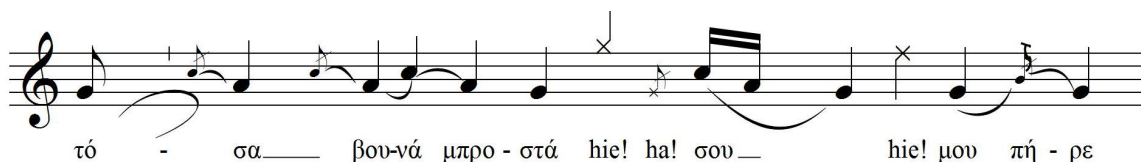
This practice however should not be compared with other practices in the polyphonic texture. For example the voice of *Richtis* which changes the pitch to a smaller range is introduced (according to the witness of the singers I recorded with Eckehard Pistrick in *Kosovitsa* (in Southern Albania next to the Greek border) and *Agia Marina* (close to the village of *Ktismata*) in July 2007, when the group of singers comes to a good mood (*kefi*) and wishes to complete the texture of the polyphony. This voice introduces the disjunctive tone in a pentatonic heptachord system developing the whole musical texture to the pentatonic octachord system (see also Katsanevaki 1998-2014 Part A: 443-444).



Map 2. The hie! phenomenon

Considering the musical characteristics of the *hie!*, I documented the following changes of functionality of the *hie!* in musical forms, from a lament practice to a musically decorative practice. It appears:

1. as a cry in lament practices in Epirus and Western Macedonia, *either* sung a seventh above the tonic (mus.ex.1, 2 , 3), in which case it is performed in the manner of a formal ‘weeping’ in the funeral context ([Video 1](#)), *or* sung on the subtonic an octave lower (mus. ex.4), in which case it is also performed as a formal ‘weeping’ in a funeral context but presenting a mood of sustained grieving than (as in the case of the upper 7th) an explosion of uncontrolled, high-pitched weeping ([Video 1](#)).



Mus. ex. 1

Skua-lă ko - li š - bā ka - fe a hu! tas ti vedu nin - gá ni - (e)-hjá - my (ă)hu!

tas ti vedu nin - ga ni (e) hjá - my (ă)hu!

Mus. ex. 2

šo te var - dat dfoi - te de - tsa o - hie! —

tse - li do - ma te ba - ra - me

a - ma ti ne gre - dišj Mi - tso o - hie!

Mus. ex. 3

(kai)vai! du sja - tsj mult tsj gi - de(t) - (t) nu(uhie!)

voi š-ti ve-du nu-n' ti vi - i - dzu(uhhie!)

Mus. ex. 4

2. as a repeated upward leap of a seventh in a specific voice in female harvest songs in Epirus, emphasizing the change of meter and revealing an intermediate stage of social and musical transformation (mus.ex.5.). In this case the sorrowful texts of the songs sung by the women during their work in the fields support a probable direct

relation to earlier laments that served the women's need to 'confess' their sorrowful feelings about the deceased or themselves.

Βλέ - πεις ε - κεί - νο το βου - νό
 U U / U U) -
 πως ά - να - ψε και και - ει
 U U - / U - X

Mus. ex. 5

It also appears as a musically ornamental practice in one of the voices (*lalia*) in the structure of some multi-part songs, keeping its pitch a seventh above the tonic (mus.ex.6-7 musical transcriptions). In this case the weeping form of the cry is radically altered rhythmically and becomes integral to the musical structure. It loses its initial functionality while keeping the more generalized mood of sorrow.

Δέν - τρον εί - ωι! χωι! χωι! hie!

Mus. ex. 6

Αϊ - ντε Μά - ρο
e hie! e hie! e! hie e!

στο πι - γά - δι μφέ αϊ - ντε για - νε ρό μω-ρέ
e! πι - γά - δι αϊ - ντε για νε - ρό

Mus. ex. 7

3. as an ornamental cry in the melodies of women's ritual songs likewise sung outdoors on the mountains during the feast of the Saint John the Baptist (mus.ex.8.), or as a ritual cry at the end of the melodic phrases of female Easter dance songs.

Πά - ντρε - τε - νε - ε hie!

ε(ι) ε! e! e! hie!

Mus. ex. 8

4. as a melodic ornament in the instrumental 'moiroloi' of Western Greece.

It is then possible to classify the musical examples (regarding musical context the *hie!* cries and the lyrics) into five categories:

1) Improvisational lament with informal cries (*hie!* weeping) →

- 2) Formal Lament (with a fixed melody) → Song with hie! →
- 3) Song with hie! (with social resonances and lyrics from the Lament) →
- 4) Ritual song with hie! as integral to the musical form
- 5) hie! as part of the instrumental ‘moiroloi’ (leap of a 7th upwards).

This classification reveals stages of transformation of this practice from a formal weeping lament, an emotional cry, into a musical practice in other song genres. It follows a process of functional musical change of an emotional cry into a formal musical characteristic.

The function of *hie!*, and also of *lele!* as lament practices appears to have a historical trail as well, as similar phenomena are found in Greek antiquity¹¹.

Furthermore, research has revealed similar practices related to ritual wailing in other parts of the world¹².

Words and Music

Feld and Fox refer to the lament genre in general as “stylizing sung-spoken intersections”. With few exceptions, “...lament is the most prominent and widespread discourse genre where one can comparatively study stylized progressions moving back and forth on all continua relating the speaking and

¹¹1) *Iωή* (Lidell-Scott citation; Nimas, 2001: 147; Alexiou, 1974: 81-82), 2) *ωή!* (*oi!*) (Lidell-Scott citation), *elelehie!* *Eλελευ!*. See for the *lele!* In Katsanevaki, 1998 Part B Vol. I: 67. For the hie! The zafeiris ritual and the *kommos* (see Alexiou, 1974: 80-82). For funeral laments in Greek, Roman and Mediterranean Antiquity see De Martino, 2000: 178-192, 237, 275-282. Another cry found in antiquity which starts with different syllables but ends again to a hie! is the exclamation *Otototoi!* *Ototyzo* (Verb) *Οτοτύζω* (*Οτοτοτοι*), a dramatic cry, a kind of *Thrinis*, Liddell-Scott, *οτοτύζω και οτοτοῖ*.

About the *lele!* see also (Gartzonikas, 1971: 27 Liddell-Scott, *ελελίζω*; Katsanevaki, 1998 Part B Vol I: 67). See also for its contemporary functionality in the Balkans and the Europe in Alexandru, (1980: 55), Petrovic, Montenegro: 602; Katsanevaki *op. cit.*; Georgescu (1981: 122); Deutsch (1975: 652), Katsanevaki (1998 Part A: 49). Also for Armenia see Amy de la Bretèque (2010), as *heylele!*, video 083. It is also found among the Tswana people in South Africa (information by Alvin Petersen). It appears as a form a sorrowful emotional exclamation in other genre of songs like wedding and betrothal songs in Greece (Katsanevaki, 1998 Part B: ex.88). As “o leleoi!” in Southern Albania (Kondi, 2012: 133).

¹² For Ahime! in Southern Italy and Romania as *oi!* De Martino (2000: 116, 118-119). For the ritual wailing of American Indians, see in Urban (1988). For falsetto practices as ritual wailings in the Karelian lament, Tolbert (1990: 90), in the Hawaiian laments, Kaeppler (2013: 1-2). In the *dawawa* practice in Shavante, Graham (1987: 88). It is also found in Chinese Shadow Theater (information by Liliang Tang).

singing voice” (Feld & Fox, 1994: 39). Having already presented the importance of *glissandi* in the melodies of Northwestern Greece and their possible relation to speech, I will make an initial hypothesis that this is also true for Western Greece (with the Pindus Mountains as a central point).

There is one difficulty encountered by everybody who listens to the lament and song melodies of Western Greece (Greek-speaking, Vlach-speaking or the older Slav-speaking layer): how to recognize the differences between the melodies of different songs, and between laments and songs. As they are constructed from repetitive melodic formulas, with the predominance of *glissandi* as a basic component of these formulas, the difference between laments and songs as well as the difference between various songs lies in fact in the ordering of these formulas and their variants rather than in a completely different musical process. To ‘compose’ these melodies means to know how to combine the formulas with the text. An analysis of the melodies of the songs and of how they are combined with the text reveals that there was an important norm governing the process, which I describe as ‘the rule of the accented syllable’ (footnote 13).

What challenged my own listening experience was the constant ascents and descents of the melody within the intervals of a perfect fourth or a perfect fifth, progressions which are quite difficult for the voice to perform so frequently. These intervals coincided with the succession of accented and unaccented syllables, with the voice sliding upwards a perfect fifth on the accented syllables of the words and subsequently of the verse, while descending on the unaccented one back to the central tone¹³. The practice was important, as it revealed the basic process of lament → song: these formulas appeared in their clearest form in the laments (mus.ex.9) while they became more varied and ornamented in a way that obscured their basic form in other genres of songs. The formulas revealed both the concept of music making within this musical system and also the fact that this rule was indeed presented in its clearest form in the laments of the area. It seemed that the rest of

¹³ A relevant rule found in ancient Greek practices (the *logodes melos*) was called “*musical accent*” “*mousikos tonismos*” (Katsanevaki, 1998 Part A: 55-65): the *okseia* accent was performed almost a fifth over the normal speech sound in a speech context, leaving plenty of room to speculate that these melodic formulas in contemporary practice are based on the same notion as they “describe” the accent of speech.

the songs consisted of an improvised combination and ornamentation of the basic lament word-melody formulas¹⁴.

The image shows three lines of musical notation in treble clef, each with Greek lyrics underneath. The first line has the lyrics: ε - ψές εί - ει - δα στον ύ. The second line has: υ - πνό μου εί - ει - δα και στ'ό - νει -. The third line has: ρο - ιο - μου εί - δα τον γρί - βα. The notation includes various note values, rests, and ornaments like accents and slurs.

Mus. ex. 9

Subsequently, these lament word-melody formulas revealed that sound is closely related to speech, when it becomes a direct vehicle for personal confession: “it is quite rare to hear *Yezidis* narrate traumatic events without melodized speech” (De la Bretèque, 2012: 143). This might be true for many oral traditions. The suggestion is that organized sounds that aim at expressing deep feelings, especially those linked to personal or collective memory, are usually closely associated with speech. Among the *Yezidis*, for example, the season for those rituals associated with pain and lament and with ‘melodized speech’ is the part of the year marked by absence and migration (*transhumanse*) (De la Bretèque, 2010: 99-100, 104-106). In Western Greece the lament practices offer the women a medium to talk with the deceased as though he had never died. This can happen anywhere: in the cemetery, at the loom, in the mountains or at an actual funeral. In this way the lament speech-sound reveals what cannot be revealed in any other way, and thus keeps memory alive.

Nonetheless, the ways of ‘making’ a speech-sound differ from place to place and from oral tradition to oral tradition. Furthermore, as memory is a community quest the lament speech-sound can serve this quest, changing its functionality to become

¹⁴ The text of these lament melodies is based on fixed verses. In most cases, it is a fixed text but there is an improvised text in certain cases in a funeral context.

initially a formal-lament, then a lament-song and finally a 'song'. Steven Feld has documented that among the *Kaluli* people weeping becomes "sung weeping" and finally a "wept song" (Feld, 1990: 33), while Antony Seeger notes that "the traditional crying (as distinct from non-melodic sobbing) performed regularly by only a few older women during my stay was somewhat similar in form to a *shout* song" (Seeger, 1987: 75). In Northwestern Greece certain historical songs, wedding songs, or other lament-songs share their melodies with funeral laments of adjoining communities or regions (Katsanevaki, 1998 Part B: 50), but in a more elaborate form.

The Social Dimension of the Lament-Song in Terms of Localities

Transforming a Lament 'Echós' into a Song 'Echós'

I heard the word '*echós*' used in the area of Grevena in Western Macedonia in Greece (Katsanevaki, 1991: 354-355). By this word (which means 'echo' or 'sound', but is also directly related to the term '*échos*' found in Byzantine music as a rough equivalent of 'mode'), the locals usually mean the many musical melodic patterns that are used for specific genres of songs. '*Den ton peires kala ton echo toy*' [You did not make the sound well] means that one woman tells the other that she started the song on a wrong *echós* (wrong melodic pattern), singing for example the Easter dance as a lament. Thus, laments in a village have their own '*echós*', while Easter dance songs have another. Moreover, the same word ('*ichólu*') is also used by Vlachs right up to the Northern Epirus region (information from field research). Auerbach attested the same word '*Ichos*' in the adjoining area of Konitsa in Epirus (Auerbach, 1983-1984: 97). According to Auerbach, each custom is characterized either by one specific, or a number of characteristic, '*echós*' melodic patterns.

After many years of fieldwork in the Pindus area and its surroundings, I realized that, while in the same village a special '*echós*' sung during a ritual does not usually change its functionality (meaning that it won't be used for example for both laments and other ritual songs), it can change from village to village or from region to region. However, it should be noted that two of the '*echós*' of the Eastern female ritual dances in Eastern Pindus, some characteristic wedding '*echós*', and the characteristic lament '*echós*' melodic pattern of each area, have not changed functionality keeping their function as such in most villages of the wider area.

I documented several such lament-*echós*: the *Voion* lament-*echós* melodic pattern (mus.ex.9), the *Grammos echós* melodic pattern (Video 2, mus.ex.10), and several *echós (iholu)* melodic patterns found among Vlach speakers (Video 1, mus.ex.11). Similarly, there is the characteristic melody-*echós* (*blaš* in the Slav-speaking dialect) of the Slav-speaking laments in the relevant area (mus.ex.3. and Video 3) (Map 3. Laments' Data).

κά - τω__ στο μακ-ρο - χώ - ρα - φο και__ στο μα -

κρύ χω - ρά - α - α - φι

θε - ρί - ζει η μά-ρω μό - να - χη και μο - να - χή__ το δέ - ε - νει

Mus. ex. 10

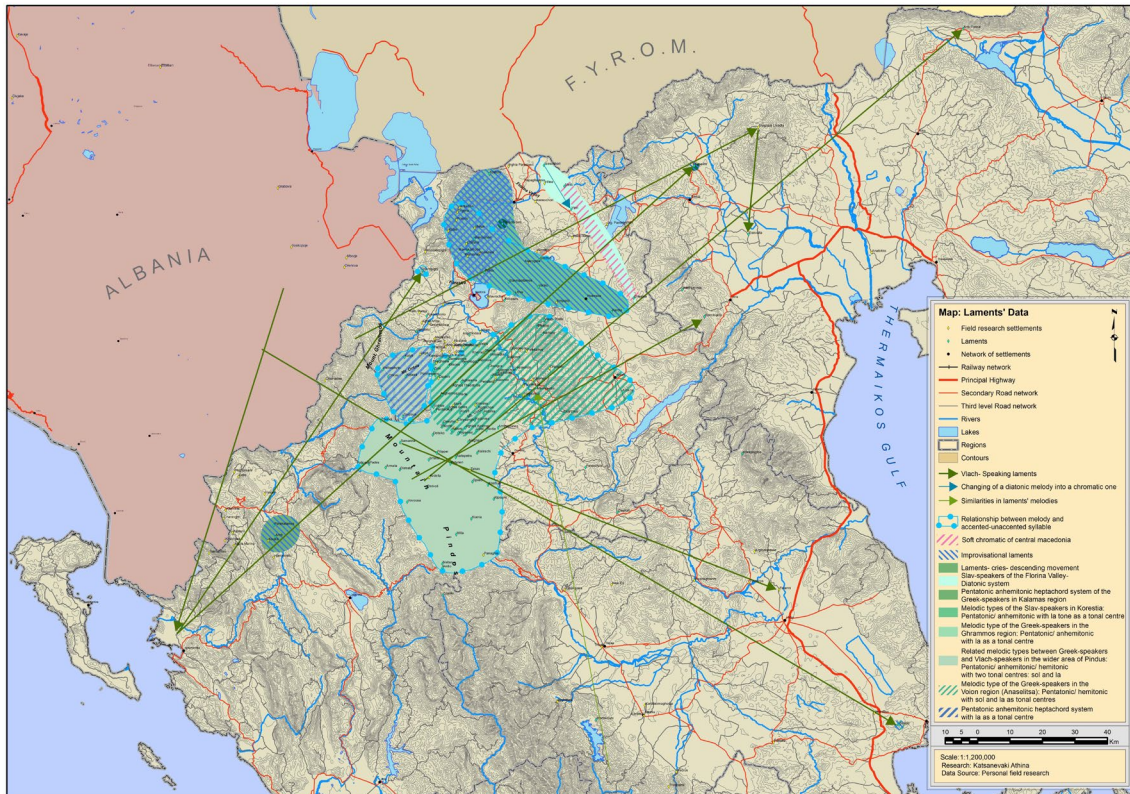
βο-λιού-μαι μιά βο - ο - λιού μαι αι δύο λε λε

la__ i__ lu__ ní__ ε βο - λιού - μαι

τρεις και__ πέ-ντε βο - λιού-μαι - αι να³

ξε - ε νη τε - ευ - τώ //

Mus. ex. 11



Map 3. Laments' Data

If we find a transformation of a lament *'echós'* from one village into a song in another village, the melody is altered while keeping its basic melodic structure. This demonstrates that functional changes in the lament-melodies happen under special circumstances and that the process for any other customary *'echós'* to change functionality is shorter and easier than that of a lament becoming a song. Subsequently, the transformations of lament melodies into songs that we present here must have been very carefully decided over time. After these melodic patterns have become songs there is always much more mobility and it is easier to change their functionality again in order to attach them to a different genre of songs (e.g. a harvest song into a mule driver's song).

In certain cases, I located transformations of a lament-melody (*echós*) into the melody of a female song with a polyphonic texture in a related area, as in mus.ex.5. An inexperienced listener would hardly be able to recognize in this long and slow melody of a harvest song from the area of *Kalamas* the hidden basic melodic pattern of the lament-*echós* sung by the Greek-speaking women of *Grevena* on the other side of the Pindus Mountain, where the melody presents its basic structure based on the

subtonic instead of the tonic (mus.ex.9). Eventually the melody of *Kalamas* becomes even more elaborate in the case of the male polyphonic lament-song repertoire of *Pogoniani* (“Don’t let me die Oh! Virgin Mary”) a bit further to the North (mus.ex.12). The lament melody of *Grevena* also appears in a heterophonic texture in a wedding song for the leaving of the bride in the village of *Samarina*. Although for many, such phenomena might suggest diffusion, this is not exactly the case. Rather, they suggest a common population around the area, which having a common basis, made its regional interchanges with its cultural decisions and variations resulting in a rich mosaic of variations related to each other.

The musical score consists of three systems. The first system has two staves: the top staff is for 'Pärtis' and the bottom for 'Klostis and iso'. The lyrics for Pärtis are: 'αχ! μη με πε - θαί - αι - νεις Πα - να - α - γιά - ε!'. The lyrics for Klostis and iso are: 'νεις πα³ια-ναι - α ο! ο! γιαι α οι ο ο!'. The second system also has two staves. The top staff lyrics are: 'θέ - λω - να - α ζή - η - σω α - κό - μα - α - μη -'. The bottom staff lyrics are: 'θε - ε - λοι ο ναι α ο! ο! ζή - ι! ι! - σάι α κόι ο - ο! ho! μη - η'. The third system has two staves. The top staff lyrics are: '- η με πε - θαί'. The bottom staff lyrics are: 'η με³ - πε'. The musical notation includes treble clefs, various note values, slurs, and triplet markings.

Mus. ex. 12

Transforming a text lament into a song lament

Usually the quickest way to transform a lament into a song is to change the functionality of a text lament into a song text. To my surprise, during fieldwork I often saw that on Easter Day, when the resurrection of the Dead is celebrated, the

women in the regions around Pindus Mountains danced their female Easter dances accompanied by texts with a lament content. In many cases (as for example in the villages of the *Voion* and *Grevena* regions), when I interviewed the women, I asked them whether it would be possible to sing a text in two different ways: with a lament *echós* and/or with an Easter dance *echós*. In many cases the texts shifted from one ritual category to the other with only the melody changing. It is noteworthy that this information came from the women themselves and that such Easter songs were familiar (both text and melody) in numerous villages: the characteristic Easter song *Today my Despo is Easter Day* (mus.ex.13) is sung in numerous villages (probably more than one hundred) with the same melody and the same text. Its transformation into an Easter dance song must have been an extremely long process in time, considering its spatial progress. It preceded the introduction of instruments in the villages, which is a relatively recent process (see below). And though I was told by a man in the village of *Spilion* in the *Grevena* region that this song was ‘composed’ in honour of a young woman called *Despo*, who died during World War II, I would be at best naïve to believe that it was after the World War II that this melody spread around the hundreds of villages where it is still sung, and where I repeatedly managed to document it. Nonetheless, I should take into consideration and accept the most important message in his argument: that it was collective memory, including the need to honour the dead during the great events in the history of community and to reanimate its deceased members, that supported the transfer of lament musical speech and the lament texts to the category of Easter dance songs.

Σή - με - ρα Δέ - σ - πωμ' Πα - σ - χα - λιά

Σή - μέ-ρα Δέσ - πωμ' Πασ - χα-λιά σή - με - ρα άσ-πρη η

μέ - ρα

Mus. ex. 13

This process was developed later in the case of the instrumental *moiroloi*. The instrumental *moiroloi* (lament) as a male social activity, just as the funeral *moiroloi* as a female social activity, is analyzed in Dellaporte (2008). The male outdoor activities in the *glendi*, especially the need to commemorate the absent members – whether deceased or not– is analysed as a motive to transform musical lament forms into musical song forms in the course of dances accompanied by instrumental music.

However, the process of transformation of musical lament forms into musical song forms as well as into lament texts and melodies in the course of the dance predates the introduction of the instruments to these communities, as I suggested above. The introduction of these lament musical forms and of the *hie!* in female ritual dances is also prevalent, and it was active before the socialization of the relationship of the instrumentalists and the male population of the villages (this developed during the local feasts of the patron saints in the communities of Epirus and the rest of the area). The concept of lamenting using instrumental *moiroloi* for those who have left, as mentioned by Dellaporte (2008: 58-59), might be one further motive for men to express forms of ritual pain at local feasts, but the process had started long before that, with the transformation of the laments into ritual songs for purposes of collective memory.

It is collective memory, then, and the need to honour absent members of the community that shaped many lament texts as well as introducing the relevant melodic concept in the ritual dance songs sung on Easter Sunday. It also explains the need to ‘celebrate’ Death, as Firth has demonstrated about the *Tikopia*.

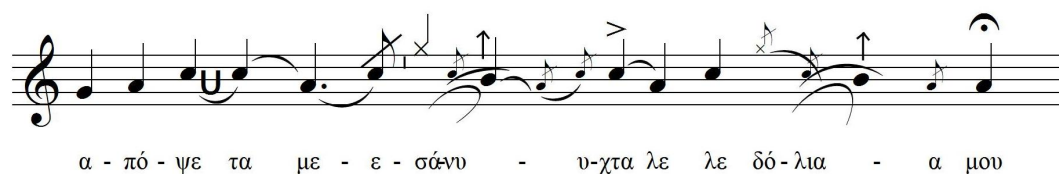
The Song with a text lament and melody in a different spatial context.

The embodiment of the *hie!* lament practice and the lament melodies in different social contexts and with different functions can be found in terms of localities in several ways. Thus, in the Greek-speaking village of *Mesolongos* (*Voion* Region, Western Macedonia, Greece), on the Feast of Saint John women walked out of the village and climbed onto a high rock, called ‘*Paliokastro*’ (The Old Castle). This rock was indeed once a fortified position, as attested by archaeological research in the area. When the women reached the top of it, they performed their female dances,

and as they climbed down they passed by a valley with a river. There they sung a Greek-speaking lament-song:

I never believed, River, that you would bring so much water
 And now how did you bring **hie!** a great sea
 you brought trees you brought branches **hie!** uprooted trees
 you bring apple trees which bear sweet apples **hie!** it was full of apples
 and at the top of it **hie!** there were two brothers embracing each other
 tightly.
 Are you holding on tight my little brother?

The melody of this Greek song is very close to the melody of Greek-speaking laments from the Vlach speakers of Pindus, (mus.ex.14), see also mus.ex.11.

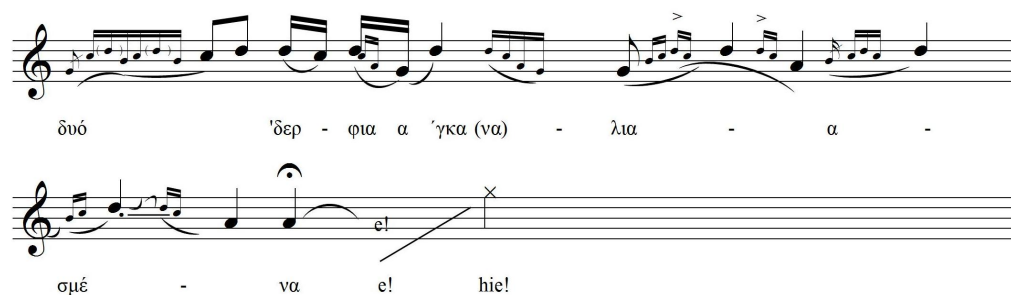


α - πό - ψε τα με - ε - σά - νυ - υ - χτα λε λε δό - λια - α μου

Mus. ex. 14

The *hie!* is not found in the pure lament melodies of this area. However, the song of *Mesolongos* combines the text and melody of the laments, the *hie!* lament practice and the text of a lament, which has become the text of a formal song. Additionally the justification for the presence of the *hie!* cry given to me by the old woman who sang this song was very simple, though linked to the surrounding nature:

“We used to turn and cry out (to the river) hie!” (mus.ex.15)



δυό 'δερ - φια α 'γκα (να) - λια - α -
 σμέ - να e! hie!

Mus. ex. 15

The *hie!* lament cry, though pre-existing, is given a special meaning according to the social function of the day, the spatial setting and the textual meaning of the lyrics. In all probability, the memory context of the oral history of the surrounding villages (though unknown) is traced and embodied in the habit of climbing up to and dancing on the 'Old Castle' and related to the characteristic lament character of the song.

The therapeutic dimension in lament practices as a means of transformation from lament to song.

Usually laments are not performed publicly beyond their functional context. This makes them extremely difficult to document at (László, 1989: 405-407). It is important for the researcher, then, to use her/his own psychological powers in such a way as to help the informant to come closer to her/him and to be able to 'confess' the lament melodies to the researcher in the way she would do it to the deceased:

"I didn't go to the cemetery today so I will sing them to you..." 'Aunt' Agoro in the Village of *Kotili* in Mt. *Grammos* said to me before entrusting me with her laments

(Katsanevaki, 2009, see lament by 'Aunt' Agoro in mus.ex.10).

Scholars have previously described the dialogue with the deceased as a protest against the subservient female position in the Greek villages (Caraveli, 1982: 138), or more generally, against women's destiny (Herzfeld, 1993: 251)¹⁵. However, one might consider it rather as an expression of a confident feeling that the deceased, being between two worlds (the spiritual and the human), is able to understand and participate in the suffering of the living, and especially of those whom he loved (Katsanevaki, 2009)¹⁶. Thus, laments can function as music therapy further

¹⁵ The concept of protest should not be considered as gender-focused. Indeed, it has been argued that lament practices function as a more general means of protest against present pain and loss in order to restore the future: "It is itself a fight a choice to remain in the battle of hope versus despair" (Anastasi, 2005: 311).

¹⁶ Tolbert, quoting Urban, refers to three domains, which highlight the semiotic function of the lament and are present in the Karelian lament: the presence of a characteristic musical line with culturally specific stylistic norms, the presence of cross-culturally intelligible icons of crying, and the presence of a dialogic form without the presence of an actual addressee (Tolbert, 1990: 86). All are also present in lament practices in Greece. The third one (the presence of a dialogic form without the presence of an actual addressee) is related to the functionality of the laments as a dialogue and vehicle for communication with the deceased.

supported by the participation of the body and the voice (singing), both of which follow the repetitive rhythmic or melodic (Katsanevaki, 2009) motifs or cries (*hie*) that are important characteristics of the melodies of several ‘*echós*’ of laments in Western Greece. The repetitive motifs function both as a challenge to, and/or as a basis for, the poetical expressive creativity performed in lament practices. This was revealed in the composition technique described by a lamenter in *Areti* in *Kalamas* (interview in July 2017 in *Areti* in *Kalamas* region, fieldwork by Katsanevaki-Pistrick)

These possibilities relate lament practices to music therapy¹⁷. Repetitive motifs in the melodies, combined with fixed body movements, aim at the release of the inner feelings concentrated and embodied because of pain, thus mediating between the bereaved and her/his pain. This function is actually implied in Caraveli’s studies in a slightly different way when she refers to the texts of the laments (Caraveli, 1980: 155). The norm to improvise a text on fixed verses while based on repetitive melodic and rhythmic motives in the context of a funeral can perform a kind of musical healing through creative and expressive practices that combined with the simultaneous movement of the body, create an organized framework that gives form to the uncontrolled release of pain.

The therapeutic function of lamenting is revealed in the following discussion I had with ‘Aunt’ Chrysoula in *Pentalofos*. She told me that she secretly followed her mother-in-law in order to see how she was lamenting in the cemetery. She described the intense rhythmical movements of her body to left and right in a bent and concentrated position, following the rhythmic patterns of the lament (see also in [Video 2](#) the ‘fixed body movements’, or, as they have been described by Seremetakis, “Iconographies of the body” (Seremetakis, 1990: 507; Katsanevaki, 2009; see also in Tolbert, 1990: 98-99 and Kaeppler, 2013: 3; Plancke, 2015: 100, 110 “stylized bodily

¹⁷ Music therapy is invaluable for health rehabilitation (Gouk, 2000: 171-195), which is confirmed by the results of certain clinical surveys (Gallagher 2011). For the therapeutic purpose of the laments on the island of *Chios*, see Akiougiounoglou-Christou 2014. Lalioti referred to “The necessity of mourning”, in Crete (Lalioti, 1993: 25-26), and Auerbach to the “The necessity of lamenting” (Auerbach, 1983-1984: 190). See De Martino, 2000: 43, “La crisi del cordoglio”, 42-48, “Di alcuneteoripsicologiche del cordoglio”, 48-54). James Wilce’s *Crying Shame* (2008), deals in detail with the therapeutic aspects of the lament. “...lament has the power to.....facilitate, working through pain” (Plancke, 2015: 110).

features”). The short repetitive motifs, which usually construct the lament melodies, challenge the painful memories and the hidden painful experiences to come out and thus help the participants to be released from them (Katsanevaki, 2009 see also in Racy, 1986: 34).

At the end, ‘Aunt’ Chrysoula concluded:

“Don’t record them. I don’t like them!”

.....

“Do you feel relieved “Aunt”?” I asked her.

“Yes! I do!”

Mus. ex. 16 (audio)

This short dialogue suggests that lament practices function as a means of releasing suppressed feelings thus making a catharsis available (Bourke, 1988: 289). But also, that releasing suppressed feelings might be frustrating, in the sense that the lamenter might be seriously hurt by the process. In two different Slav-speaking communities in *Ptolemaida*, two women, when I asked about their feelings about laments, replied that when the lament has finished they have a terrible headache.

The fact that the lament releases suppressed feelings was apparent in the case of a Vlach-speaking woman whom I asked to perform a lament in the cemetery on the day of the memorial services. Her daughter had been killed in an accident, so I hesitated for almost 10 years before asking her to perform a lament. On this occasion she agreed to sing in the cemetery, located some way from the village, but for her sister-in-law, not for her daughter. However, as she started the lament she changed the improvised verse into a lament for her daughter. The motifs, cries and the musical process reminded her of her deeper wound. She improvised for a while, but then I asked her to stop ([Video 1](#)).

Lament practices are performed in community life during the funeral process or elsewhere individually¹⁸ or in a group thus having the possibility to change their

¹⁸ Lalioti, 1993: 20, quoting Tsouderos (1976) also in Kölbl (2011). See also a special case study in Gall 2013. Nyssen has also attested that *sut* laments are recalled by women as they

functionality (see Kölbl, 2011). In most cases their purpose is to be released from pain: Maria Georgeli, one of the singers in *Metsovo*, remembered the older women singing laments on the loom: “If you have a pain..,” she added at the end implying that if you have a pain you ‘say’ laments (see in Herzfeld, 1981: 48-49 ‘*leo moiroloia*’) everywhere.

Pain is expressed, negotiated, and exchanged among the various members of the community, and especially of the women (see also in Briggs, 1993¹⁹) as happened at a funeral I attended in a village of Voion: the women stood out of the room, where the deceased was lying, as a solid group, singing the laments in the *echós* of Voion, while the friends and relatives went into the room to say *farewell* to the deceased. As he was a young unmarried man, he was dressed as a groom, while his relationship with the dance, the *glendia* (local feasts) and the local instrumentalists was honoured with the performance of instrumental tunes over his grave during the burial. While the funeral is transformed into a wedding, on the other hand, the wedding can equally be transformed into a funeral, so the *moiroloi* can be equally performed in the course of a wedding to lament the bride.

The outcome of the lament is the recuperation of the wounded persona and the relationships with community. In this way lament practices become a means of social healing, and serve life in all circumstances²⁰. “The lament must develop power to be effective [...] In addition, the lamenter must be sensitive to the social context, and as the ritual leader of the wedding or the funeral, *must orchestrate the collective expression of sorrow*” (Tolbert, 1990: 97) (emphasis by author). I was told many times that when the bride left her home, the farewell ritual songs performed by the women brought tears. “We cried! We were weeping for the bride! She was getting married She wept and we all wept!”. The women were usually surprised while commenting on their own experiences, thus accepting the paradoxically divergent experience of lamenting the bride in their patrilineal societies.

express individual pain. But although they become a hybrid genre between lament and song they are never performed publicly (Nyssen, 2010: 19).

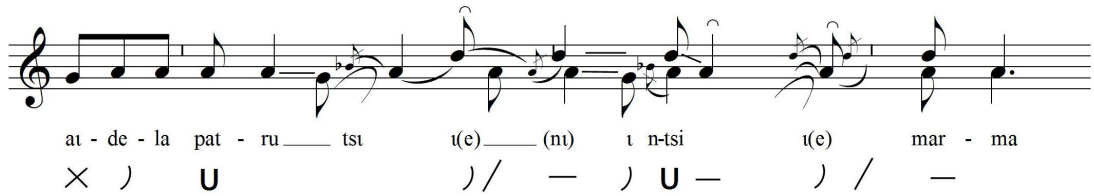
¹⁹ The collective meaning of the lament practices is described by Briggs in comments made by his interlocutors about the importance of women’s singing together “we cry very close to one another” Briggs, 1993: 935-936).

²⁰ Certain musical styles can function as healing laments in certain groups (see the example of *Emo* music in Anastasi, 2005).

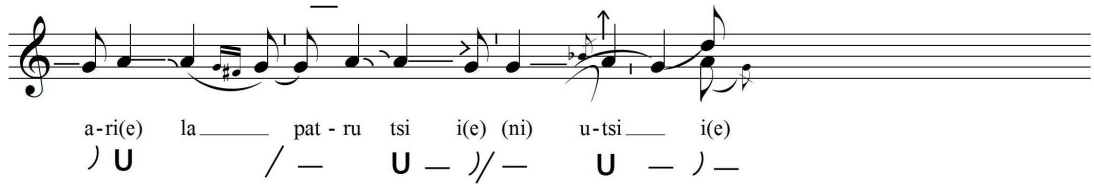
Lament, supporting collective memory, healing social wounds and reordering relationships (Gillespie & Hoenigman, 2013: 7) by means of music, symbolic activities, movement and text, plays a central social role in the community and thus shares its functionalities with other genres of songs. The sound world of songs can function as a means of establishing, validating, and at times concealing forms of identity (Katsanevaki, 1998 Part B: 33-34, 37, 39, 55-56; Porter, 2013: 1 and in Bowan, 2013), while supporting memory. Many songs can be former laments and every lament can project its functionality to become a song.

***A 'technique of reversal' in musical contexts or a protest against human fate?
Celebrating Death; weeping at a Wedding.***

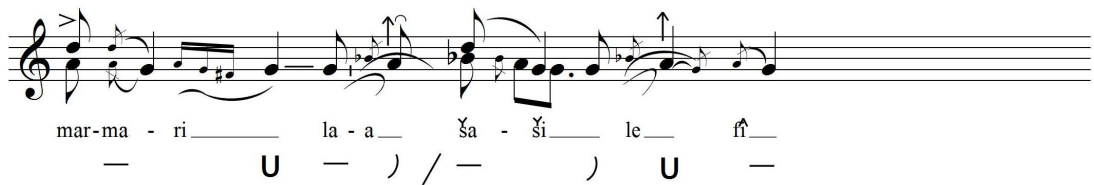
There are other social dimensions that can help account for the transformation of laments into songs. One is the "technique of reversal" described by Caraveli (1982: 140, 143) in her textual analysis. By producing a dramatic contrast between the textual meaning and the social context, more emphasis is placed on the dramatic process enacted by the lamenter or singer. It is important to note that such a technique permits the transformation of a lament into a song, as attested in the analysis of the Vlach-speaking heterophonic song 'La patru tsintsi marmari' (mus.ex.17). As a text, this is a pure lament sung at the weddings when the bride is leaving her house, and on a melodic pattern (*echós*) that is a more fixed version of the lament *echós* of the Greek-speaking villages nearby (mus.ex.18).



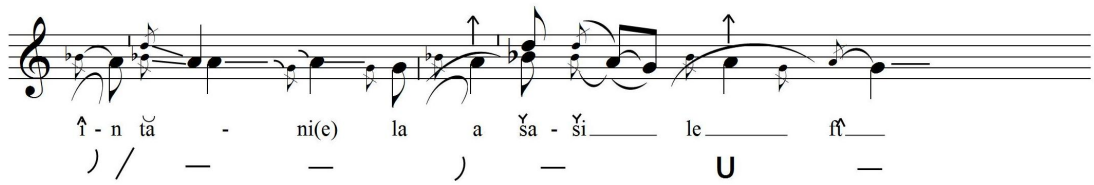
ai - de - la pat - ru tsu i(e) (ni) i n-tsi i(e) mar - ma
 X) U) / -) U -) / -



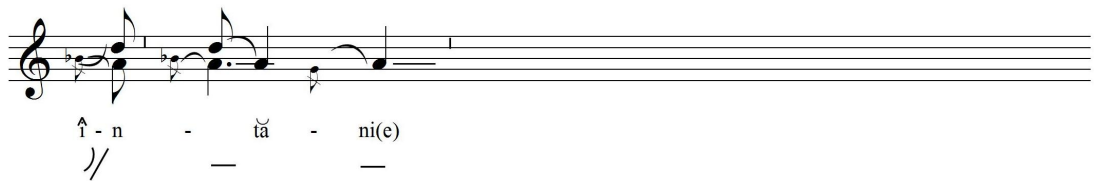
a-ri(e) la pat - ru tsi i(e) (ni) u-tsi i(e)
) U / - U -) / - U -) -



mar-ma - ri la - a ša - ši le ff
 - U -) / -) U -

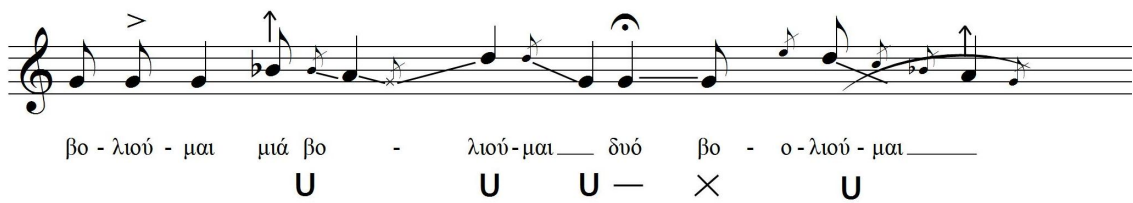


ħ - n tã - ni(e) la a ša - ši le ff
) / - -) - U -

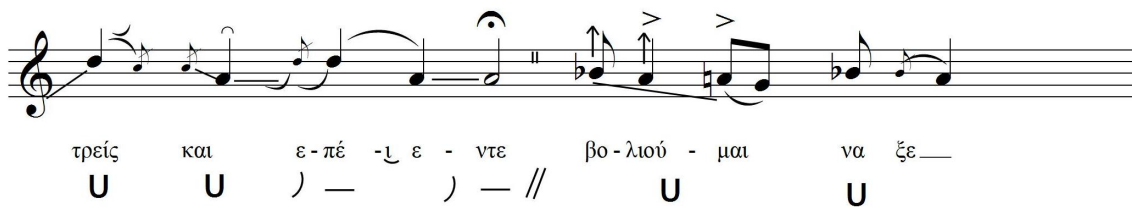


ħ - n - tã - ni(e)
) / - -

Mus. ex. 17



βο - λιού - μαι μιά βο - λιού - μαι δύο βο - ο - λιού - μαι
 U U U - X U



τρείς και ε - πέ - ε - ντε βο - λιού - μαι να ξε
 U U) -) - // U U

Mus. ex. 18

The transformation of the lament into a wedding song reveals a technique which uses contrast to emphasize the pain experienced by the participants in the wedding because of the departure of the bride and her separation from her family. In this way, the constant variability of human fate and life (*tragedy*) is emphasized, and moreover, this contrast marks the end of the circle of the girlhood of the bride and her passage into womanhood in her personal life-circle: even a happy event, then, is marked by a feeling of separation (Katsanevaki, 2006, 2009). This technique uses contrast to support the transformation of the lament into song in order to serve a new social purpose.

Laments that marked the passage of the deceased to the Underworld (Psychogiou, 1998; Van Gennep, 1960) in many cases functioned as a means of marking other 'passages' in the life-cycle, such as the 'exodus' of the bride from girlhood to her womanhood²¹ or the departure of an emigrant (Laloti, 1993: 51). Thus, they had the possibility to function as songs in another social context, carrying with them all their musical characteristics and thus introducing those characteristics to new genres of songs²². They were nonetheless more appropriate than any other ritual songs to

²¹ Loring Danforth has referred to the connection between death and marriage (Danforth, 1982: 71-115; Laios, 2001: 2-3; Laloti, 1993: 51; Yuk-Ying Ho, 2005: 57-58, and the previous works of Blake, 1978, and McLaren, 2000). See Frazer (2013: 144-145, 156), for contemporary processes where laments are set to topical narratives about disasters or where narratives and songs about disasters become part of a wedding context.

²² The concept of *Absence* is the main motive and inner power of both rituals of migration (in Greek *ksentia* in Albanian, *kurbet*) and death (in Greek: *paitheno*, in Albanian *vdekja*). It is also responsible for the change of function of certain laments into songs (see for a detailed analysis Pistrick, 2012: 197-244) and the function of migration songs as a *hybrid*-category (Pistrick, 2012: 240-244). The concept of *absence* and *forgetting* in a Greek lament-song text is transformed into *forgetting* called *Alismonía* (*alismonó*- I forget-) or *Alimoniá* (a place the singers were unable to determine), meaning the place where everything is forgotten (see in Katsanevaki, 1998 Part B mus.ex.30, see Saunier, 1999: 111-115, for the notion of '*Lismonia*' [forgetting] and its spatial meaning). Moreover, certain genres of songs in Greece, for example the texts of migration songs, relate to death and injustice in a way that makes possible the passage of a text from the one genre to the other (for the concept of death in the migration songs of Greece, see Saunier, 2004: 250-253). The connection of migration with the notion of *Adikia* (injustice) is a consequence of the equation of migration with death (see *op. cit.* 1983; 2004: 196-198). For the custom of the bereaved women exchanging texts between the two genres of songs (migration songs and laments) in Greek folk song, see Saunier (1979: 225-226). The common denominator in both death and migration is loss. As Feld and Fox emphasize, "Mortuary activities thus involve expressive and physical actions to remove the presence of death while inventing the tone of the deceased memory projection in the future. Performed acts of remembering *oppose the imagined horror of forgetting*" (Feld & Fox, 1994: 40).

fulfill the 'task' of 'crying' for the bride. Thus, the most important moment of transition in a woman's life – her wedding – is marked by weeping. In those patrilineal societies where the bride had to move to her husband's family, this moment would be marked by weeping as a moment of caesura in the life of the young girl because she was uprooted from her paternal family: "My mother, don't let my flowers wither" (song from *Kalloní*).

At the same moment, the farewell for the Dead is enacted by a lament with a rhythmical pattern, suitable for a procession, but also for a dance: In the village of *Samarina*, 'when they lift the deceased to bring him to the cemetery' they perform a lament that has the same rhythmic pattern as the female Easter Syrtos dances of the wider area (mus.ex.19). Additionally, a similar melody with the same rhythmic pattern is sung in *Mesolongos* as a lament when they go to the cemetery on the third day after the burial to lament the deceased. The same rhythmic pattern with a similar chromatic melody is also sung when the bride leaves her house. The same rhythm is used then for three reasons: to say farewell to the dead, to say farewell to the bride, and to dance on Easter day. Although we encounter not a straightforward dance, but a procession here, it is the same rhythm and the same idea of the steps of the dance that joins these two practices. As Firth puts it for the *Tikopia*, "the idea of such funeral dances is a kind of farewell to the dead person and they come under the general head of makofakamāvae- dances of parting." (Firth, 1990: 59).

Vi - ni — ua - a - / vi - ni — uá - rî — û(e) —
 — U —) / — U —) /

ua - rî - lí — û(e) —
 — U —) — U —

e! ma - na — ka — ma-na — ka - f - tî — û
) — U — / —) / — U —)

tras ní — fû - u - gǎ
 — U —) / — //

Mus. ex. 19

In an attempt to explain the paradox of the *Tikopia* dancing for the dead, Firth suggests that “it certainly illustrates not so much an antithesis between tension and release in a situation of great emotional strain as the complex intermingling of these elements in behavior. I think this has relevance for a more general theory of personal and social reaction to death.” (Firth, 1990: 59-60).

Such a reaction results in some even more important phenomena in Western Greece. For exactly the same reason, the women in Metsovo ‘celebrate’ a death by singing a joyful (urban in the context of the little town of Metsovo) melody from the Ionian islands very different in character and style from the rest of the pentatonic songs of the area in order to weep for an unmarried youngster (maybe from the Ionian islands), who died. By ‘celebrating’ the Death with this joyful melody (‘on the foam of the sea’, which they turned into ‘don’t cover me, sky!’ mus.ex.20), a dramatic

contrast is created: we might explain it as a practice that “emphasizes the signified by making a contrast between the signifiers” (Katsanevaki, 2006).

Μη με σκε - πά - μη με σκε - πά - ζεις ου - ρα - νέ μη με σκε - πά μη με σκε -
 πά - ζεις χώ - μα α - κό - μη δεν ε - χά - ρη - κα στε -
 φά - νι κιαρ - ρα - βώ - να

Mus. ex. 20

In this case the signifiers are the death of the young person, expressed in the change of text and the joyful melody. The signified is the *tragedy* created by the contrast of Youth and Death. Though in any other case such a melody would be considered completely inappropriate for a funeral (as a celebratory, and as a foreign melody), in the case of a funeral of a young unmarried man this joyful melody served its key purpose, which was to emphasize the *drama*. This purpose is of some antiquity in the Pindus area, but the medium (the melody from the Ionian Islands) is new. However, for purposes of contrast it was introduced to this, the most crucial, expression of a shared community life: the funeral.

In the case of the lament which becomes a wedding song, the signified – the contrast of the happy event with the leaving and separation of the bride – is emphasized by the contrast of the signifiers: the wedding and the lament melody and text (commemorating at the same time the unknown deceased woman).

In both cases the practice is common and ‘old’ (as was the melody introduced from the Ionian Islands, according to the women of Metsovo...), but in each case the medium is completely different (a song introduced from another area and a lament).

Nonetheless they continue to serve the 'old' purpose: to protest²³ and react against Death or any other form of separation.

Conclusion

Lament practices in Northwestern Greece, and elsewhere are a channel of social memory and a mode of establishing a sense of community for the individual. Thus, they serve two important purposes in community life: maintaining strong relationships among the community members and preserving social memory within the community. Both are major factors in strategies of survival over time.

I have presented here a complex network of transformations of laments into songs, relating these transformations to ritual cries, musical structure, the nonsense syllables of the exclamations, the mobility of the melodies and musical characteristics, all in terms of social functionality and spatial context as well as therapeutic function.

There are certain types of ritual cries that present their most characteristic functionality in certain forms of laments in Western Greece, as well as Northern Epirus in Southern Albania. While in the form of pure songs they look like decorative inexplicable ritual cries, their presence in the lament practices reveals a certain functional logic that explains their appearance in the rest of the repertory.

This change of functionality is further supported by the transformation of different types of lament melodies into songs as presented in the chapters of this article.

When it comes to the texts, there are similar reasons to believe that many songs were former laments: certain song texts trace strong similarities (they are actually identified) with certain laments or their narratives which reveal a former lament functionality.

The structure of the melodies as a musical system is also based on the words and especially on the word-accent. This composition practice is much clearer in the melodies of the laments of the area and suggests that it is based on a functional role of the music of the area which is fulfilled in the best way in the case of the laments:

²³ Regarding the protest as a characteristic strategy of the Greek *moirologistra* see in Gail Holst-Warhaft's *Dangerous Voices*: 41.

in other words it supports the direct verbal expression of the individual, which is even more necessary in the case of the lament practices.

The mobility of the lament melodies is also supported by the therapeutic functionality of the lament practices: their power to heal wounds, diverts their initial functionality and permits their performance on other occasions individually or in a group. The power of the laments also lies in their ability to become vehicles for social memory, protest against human fate and death itself, as well as against separation and social wounds. This ability encourages the swiftness of their functionality and the possibility of transferring their musical or other characteristics into different categories of songs, or else, to extend their composition norms into other functionalities of music in social life.

Thus, while in certain cases songs have been transformed into laments, in reality, it is the opposite direction that has been more representative of the long-term process of transformation. The transmuting of lament, a fundamental element of music making in oral traditions, into song, leaves plenty of room to consider pain and grief as major motifs in music creativity.

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LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

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‘Between East and West’: Socialist Modernism as the Official Paradigm of Serbian Art Music in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

ABSTRACT

In this paper I discuss the notion of ‘socialist modernism’ and argue for its introduction into Serbian music history and musicology as an appropriate label for a vast number of works composed in the seventh and eighth decades of the 20th Century. The term is borrowed from Serbian art theory, where it was introduced by Ješa Denegri, who defined ‘socialist modernism’ as a further development of the notion of ‘socialist aestheticism’, which was the first sign of distancing from the ‘socialist realism’ as the dominant aesthetic position in the years immediately after the end of the WWII. While both terms have been widely used to discuss the visual arts and architecture (e. g. Miško Šuvaković), they have not been applied to the study of Serbian and Yugoslav music history. It is my goal to analyse the main facets of ‘socialist modernism’ and to compare this notion to other prominent terms, which are commonly used to describe the art music production of the majority of Serbian composers in the given period, notably to ‘moderated modernism’ and ‘neoclassicism.’

Denegri used the notion of ‘socialist modernism’ to point to the specific position of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ‘between East and West’ during the Cold War. He defined it as a “unique formation that emerged at the crossroads of the features of Eastern and Western cultural models.” Similar tendencies can also be observed in Serbian art music since the late 1950s, with an increasing desire to ‘catch up’ with the dominant currents of European musical (high) modernism.

As a paradigmatic example of this stylistic approach in art music of the 1960s and 1970s, I discuss the poetics of Aleksandar Obradović (1927–2001), one of the most prominent Yugoslav (Serbian) composers of the period, whose artistic profile vividly illustrates the currents of political developments and changes in Yugoslav art in the second half of the 20th Century.

KEYWORDS

Socialist modernism
SFRY
Neoclassicism
Moderated modernism
Serbian musicology
Ješa Denegri
Miško Šuvaković
Aleksandar Obradović

Introduction

The notion of the ‘socialist modernism’ in Serbian art history roughly encompasses the same timeframe as the duration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963–1992), of which Serbia was a part.¹ At the same time, this period in Serbian *art music* – considered as an institutionally affirmed theory and practice – has been discussed in most varied ways, marked by the use of numerous, often inconsistent and sometimes contradictory, terminological determinants.

‘Yugoslav artistic space’ should be understood, according to Ješa Denegri, as the “geographic area and political environment in which the polycentric and decentralized, yet at the same time unified and shared, art life of the second Yugoslavia (1945–1991) emerged” (Denegri, 2003: 172). Miško Šuvaković elaborates on Denegri’s views and stresses the fact that Yugoslavia was a multinational and multiconfessional federation, whose member states (republics) still maintained separate cultural identities, not having been forced to give up on their individualities in favour of a supposed ‘unitary’ concept of ‘Yugoslav art’. Nevertheless, the artistic scenes of these republics were closely connected and interlaced (Šuvaković, 2017). Having this in mind, I argue that the art music scene in Serbia *within* SFR Yugoslavia – during the period of nearly three decades – was largely dominated by the aesthetics of ‘socialist modernism’. However, this theoretical construct, widely used to discuss visual arts and architecture, with notable elaborations in recent publications by Serbian aesthetician Miško Šuvaković, has not yet been applied to the study of Serbian and Yugoslav music history.² Even the musicologists who wrote several chapters in the capital collective volume *Istorija umetnosti u Srbiji XX vek. Drugi tom – Realizmi i modernizmi oko hladnog rata* [History of Art in Serbia. Vol. 2 – Realisms and Modernisms around the Cold War] did not address

¹ After the end of the World War II, the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed on 29 November 1945. In 1963, amid pervasive liberal constitutional reforms, the name Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was introduced (usually abbreviated as SFRY or SFR Yugoslavia). It was a federation (governed by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia – KPJ) made up of six socialist republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. The city of Belgrade (Beograd) – the capital of Serbia – was also the federation capital. SFR Yugoslavia was considered dissolved on 27 April 1992.

² An early version of this article was written as a seminar paper for the course ‘Applied Aesthetics,’ in the class of Prof. Miško Šuvaković, within the frames of the Doctoral Academic Studies of Musicology at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, academic year of 2015/2016. In preparation for this publication, I have revised and extended considerably the ideas presented in that paper.

this issue at all.³ It is therefore my goal to analyse the main facets of socialist modernism and to propose its application in the realm of Yugoslav and Serbian art music, as an appropriate label for a vast number of works composed in the seventh and eighth decades of the 20th Century. To this end, the notion of ‘socialist modernism’ is here compared to other terms, which are commonly used in Serbian musicology to describe art music production of the large majority of Serbian composers in the given period, notably to the notions of ‘moderated modernism’ and ‘neoclassicism,’ in order to better understand their points of intersection and their differences. As a paradigmatic example of this stylistic approach in art music of the 1960s and 1970s, I discuss the poetics of Aleksandar Obradović (1927–2001),⁴ one of the most prominent Yugoslav (Serbian) composers of the period, whose artistic profile vividly illustrates the currents of political developments and changes in Yugoslav art in the second half of the 20th Century.

Socialist Realism, Moderated Modernism and Neoclassicism

In Serbian musicology, a transition from *socialist realism*⁵ (which marked the years immediately after the WWII) into *moderated modernism*⁶ is oftentimes discussed,

³ For instance, even though Jelena Novak’s contribution to the volume is entitled “Subverzivni socijalistički modernizmi u muzici. Figura kompozitorke” [“Subversive socialist modernisms in music. The figure of a female composer”] (Novak, 2012: 781–786), she does not actually use the syntagma anywhere in the article, and, consequently, she does not attempt to define it either.

⁴ Aleksandar Obradović was born at Lake Bled (Kingdom of Yugoslavia; today Republic of Slovenia) in 1927. He graduated in composition from the Academy of Music (today the Faculty of Music) in Belgrade in 1952, where he studied in the class of Prof. Mihovil Logar. He spent the 1959–1960 academic year in London, taking advanced training under Lennox Berkeley, and the 1966–1967 academic year in the USA where he worked at Columbia University Electronic Music Center. He taught at the *Stanković* School of Music in Belgrade (1953–1954), then he became an Assistant and, in 1961, the Assistant Professor at the Academy of Music in Belgrade, Department of Music Theory. He then taught Orchestration from 1964 (held the position of Associate Professor from 1969) and he subsequently taught composition (he was elected Full Professor in 1975). He was Rector of the University of Arts (1979–1983) and General Secretary of the Union of Yugoslav Composers (1962–1966), music writer and critic, etc.

Obradović’s musical output is quite extensive, with over 200 compositions, many of which are large-scale symphonic and vocal-symphonic works (including eight symphonies). His works were performed in 33 foreign countries and he received the highest recognitions in ex-Yugoslavia (7th July Prize, October Prize of the City of Belgrade). Cf. Marinković, 1997: 5.

⁵ According to Miško Šuvaković, the notion of socialist realism is to be understood as the normative artistic doctrine and stylistic formation based on the representation of the *optimal projection* (project, vision, utopia) of the new socialist society, which had originated in the 1920-ies in the USSR and which became in the years after the WWII the dominant art in the “real-socialist” countries (including Yugoslavia). Cf. Šuvaković, 1999: 321. Serbian musicologist Melita Milin observes that “[...] for many theoreticians the very notion of realism in literature and fine

notably pointing to the fact that this change did not take place abruptly, immediately after the resolution of the Cominform⁷ in 1948, which caused the severance of relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Serbian musicologists also identify a period of 'extended effect' of the postulates of socialist realism – and the duration of this period is quite difficult to determine precisely.⁸ The stylistical framework immediately after the abandonment of the socialist-realist aesthetics is usually referred to in Serbian musicology as 'neoclassical' and/or 'moderately modernist,' and is sometimes equated with the notion of 'socialist aestheticism,' which also originated from visual arts theory, which I will discuss later on.

An interesting definition of the 'socialist realism' (or 'sorealism') in Serbian music is given by Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, who describes it as a "simplified type of musical neoclassicism" (Veselinović-Hofman, 2007: 108). According to this author, neoclassicism, as the most vital artistic current in the stylistic pluralism of Serbian music in the second half of the 20th Century – characterized by the aesthetic orientation towards the restoration of earlier styles on different levels as well as by its ability to

arts has been challenging due to the different modalities of existence of aesthetic and real objects, while this problem becomes even more complex when trying to define the derivative notion of socialist realism. In music, this set of questions is even more problematic due to the particularities of musical expressivity." Cf. Milin, 1998: 16. On the topic of socialist realism and music in SFRY see also: Milin, 2004: 39–43.

⁶ Ivana Medić wrote the first comprehensive study of the notion of "moderated modernism" in Serbian art music after WWII (Medić, 2007: 279–294). As observed by I. Medić, "the 'moderate' part of this term can be expressed in two ways in English: as an adjective (moderate) or participle (moderated). In both cases, the denoted meaning is essentially the same – something opposed to radical, extreme, provocative, and troublesome. However, the adjective suggests that moderateness is in the very nature of the phenomenon, while the participle puts an emphasis on human agency"), hence her preference for the second option (cf. Medić, 2007: 280), which is also my choice in this paper.

⁷ On 28 June 1948 the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) adopted the prepared text of a resolution in which Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform by the other member states, citing "nationalist elements" that had "managed in the course of the past five or six months to reach a dominant position in the leadership" of the KPJ. Retrieved from http://www.znaci.net/00001/138_76.pdf (last access 18 November 2017).

⁸ According to Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, the borderline of the dominance of the "sorealism" idea in Serbian music can be drawn roughly around 1951, although up until 1954 the artistic creation in Serbia was subjected to various means of ideological-political control. However, "... since the beginning of the sixth decade, the events in the field of Serbian art were largely focusing on the arguments against this ideological input and echo." Cf. Veselinović-Hofman, 2007: 108–9. On the other hand, Melita Milin thinks that the "[u]pper limit of this period (...) remains undetermined (1945–...) (...) having in mind that the ideas of socialist realism remained 'in the air' for another ten years or so, although less and less prominent, until they disappeared completely at the end of the 1950s." Cf. Milin, 1998: 3.

assimilate elements of any musical tradition – has experienced a certain deviation in Serbian music immediately after the WWII: “We could almost say that this deviation came into being by means of ‘socializing’ and politising the aforementioned aesthetical characteristics of neoclassicism, by limiting them to the demand for simplification of all parameters of a musical work, both extramusical and musical, actually to the superficial and wrong projection of a presupposition of intelligibility and accessibility of music” (Veselinović-Hofman, 2007: 109). Nevertheless, it should be said that neoclassicism as a musical current, whose main protagonists in the interwar period were Igor Stravinsky and ‘Les Six,’ never really existed in Serbian art music before WWII. Thus, the appearance of ‘neoclassicism’ *within* the frames of ‘sorealism’ could be observed as the first manifestation of this artistic current in Serbian music. However, this has not been the case: on the contrary, neoclassicism has usually been observed by Serbian musicologists (including M. Veselinović-Hofman) as a radical *novelty* in Serbian art music *of the 1950s, i. e. after socialist realism* – as the stylistical credo of the young generation of composers who stepped on the music scene in the mid 1950s (see, for instance, Mikić, 2009: 135, 120). In this context, Dragana Stojanović-Novičić rightfully observes that in Serbia (and more generally in former Yugoslavia) “the term ‘socialism’ was connected to various aspects of people’s lives, including music, for a very long time. Just as we have observed the occurrence of the hysteresis of neoclassicism, we must take note of the hysteresis of the soc-realistic artistic concept which was also linked to neoclassicism up to a certain point” (Stojanović-Novičić, 1999: 53-54). She sums up that the socialist-realistic concept actually implied “a highly simplified variant of neoclassicism, maximally stripped and receptive, comprehensive. It was often linked to a certain national music idiom” (Stojanović-Novičić, 1999, 54).

On the other hand, the notion of ‘moderated modernism’ is also quite problematic as the ‘stylistic’ determinant of the Serbian art music from the 1950s onwards. I. Medić rightfully observes that this notion is an oxymoron because ‘modernism,’ by definition, should not be ‘moderate’ (Cf. Medić, 2007: 280). The author lists a number of terms which are used as synonyms with ‘moderated modernism’ to a certain extent, and which range from descriptive to diminishing.⁹

⁹ These are: moderate mainstream, moderately contemporary language (or procedures), ostensibly moderate idiom, moderateness and accurateness, socialist aestheticism, academic

Up until this point, there have not been any attempts to more precisely define the relationship between ‘moderated modernism’ and ‘neoclassicism’ in Serbian music after WWII. In the writings of different authors, these terms are sometimes also used as synonyms, with various degrees of overlapping. For instance, Melita Milin divides the entire art music in Serbia between 1945 and 1965 into four categories, based on the type of acceptance of musical novelties:

- 1a. ‘objectivist’ neoclassicism, inspired by the neoclassicism of Igor Stravinsky (typical example: Dušan Radić – *Spisak*, 1954);
- 1b. neoexpressionism, inspired both by the expressionism of the ‘Second Viennese School’ and Igor Stravinsky’s folkloric expressionism (typical example: Aleksandar Obradović – *Symphony No. 2*, 1964);
2. ‘archaised’ modal language (typical example: Ljubica Marić – *Pesme prostora*, 1956);
3. acceptance of avant-garde compositional procedures: elements of 12-tone music, clusters, aleatory, ‘tape music,’ etc. (typical example: Aleksandar Obradović – *Epitaph H*, 1965) (Milin, 1998: 85 and further).¹⁰

Milin’s classification is determined by the fact that she places only the first two ‘stylistical’ approaches (1a and 1b) under the umbrella of ‘moderated modernism’ (Milin, 1998: 88). On the other hand, I. Medić believes that “the entire bulk of works” that Milin analyzes should be labeled moderately modernistic (Medić, 2007: 286.)¹¹ She

classicism (or modernism), tempered modernism, middle-of-the-road, humanistic tradition, tonal music with false notes, conservative-modern music, officially approved modernism, normal state of art, well-adjusted art, politically correct composers, etc. Cf. Medić, 2007: 281–282.

¹⁰ The author gives a similar classification in her article “Etapo modernizma u srpskoj muzici” (Миљин, 2006: 103), where she identifies four stages of Serbian musical modernism, the third and the fourth of which encompass the period after WWII. The third stage (1951–1970) encompasses neoclassicism, neoexpressionism and “poetic archaisation,” and the fourth (1956–1980) the opuses of the composers who have assimilated the elements of European avant-garde compositional procedures with the main purpose to approach the actual currents of contemporary European music.

¹¹ However, both Medić and Milin think that the creative output of the composer and multimedia artist Vladan Radovanović (b. 1932) represents the only notable exception and a “special case,” as a completely autochthonous artistic presence in the context of Serbian post-WWII music.

regards moderated modernism as “a very useful construct for analyzing, on the one hand, political ideologies and their influence on arts, and on the other, artistic ideologies and their reciprocal impact upon societies” (Medić, 2007: 293) – therefore, regardless of the individual ‘palettes’ of musical expression. Furthermore, I. Medić claims that even the ‘local-type avant-garde’¹² (which developed in Serbian music in the 1960s under the influence of Polish avant-garde composers and György Ligeti) should also be observed as an expression of moderated modernism. She supports this statement with evidence of compositional-technical and ideological nature (Medić, 2015; see also Medić, 2004: 77, 81). She follows in the footsteps of György Peteri, who defines the gradual, cautious introduction of the elements of Western-European musical avant-garde in the countries previously under Soviet influence as ‘defensive integrationism’. This tendency is characterized by deliberate efforts to import and ‘domesticate’ Western economic and cultural knowledge (Medić, 2007: 287).

In contrast to that, Vesna Mikić equates ‘neoclassicism’ and ‘moderate modernism’: she believes that the “understanding of neoclassicism as moderate modernism is necessary in the case of Serbian music because of the specificities of the ‘local’ circumstances which represented a framework for the constitution of artistic and musical practices in Serbia after WWII” (Mikić, 2009: 128).¹³ Keeping in mind the opinion generally accepted in Serbian musicology, that neoclassicism *was indeed* an entirely new artistic current in Serbian post-WWII music, it is certainly not wrong to consider it a *modernist* tendency in the local context. The ‘restorational’ nature of neoclassicism justifies the claim of its *moderate(d)ness* as well, because it disturbs the supposedly ‘straightforward’ development of the artistic discipline, which would point to *high* modernism (Šuvaković, 1999: 195). However, Western music histories show that neoclassicism is a very complex stylistical tendency, and can thus be understood in many different ways; the same goes for its ‘local’ occurrences. Therefore, I conclude that the ‘moderated modernism’ ‘in Serbian music’ from the 1950s onwards can only

¹² This term was elaborated in: Veselinović, 1983.

¹³ V. Mikić reaffirms this attitude noting that the representatives of the younger generation of Serbian post-WWII composers promoted their resentment towards socialist realism in various forms of moderate modernism: “Serbian modernism of the 1950s did not negate its connections to the tradition and the past, it was internationally coloured and it possessed in itself the potential to be academized, which indeed happened near the end of the sixth decade, thus forming a solid base for the avant-garde breakthroughs of the Serbian art in the 1960s.” Mikić, 2009: 109.

equated to neoclassicism if the latter term is used in its 'broadest possible sense', as the most general determinant which encompasses all possible types of neo-isms, which do not (yet) display characteristics of postmodern musical thinking.

Social Aestheticism

V. Mikić introduces another interesting terminological parallel or congruence into Serbian musicology:

If we assume that the moderated modernism/socialist aestheticism possesses certain features of modernisms, but devoid of elevated expressiveness and subjectivity of the radical/avant-garde varieties of modernism, Ristić's [Second] Symphony could be observed, in its neoclassical design, as a modernist product of Serbian music (Mikić 2009: 121).

Mikić thus equates 'moderated modernism' and neoclassicism with 'socialist aestheticism' of the 1950s, a notion which was introduced into Serbian art theory by the literary theoretician Sveta Lukić in 1963. This author locates the occurrence of this particular type of aestheticism in Yugoslav art between 1950 and 1955; its "initial character was shaped by the struggle against the official Stalinist socialist realism and dogma of any kind. (...) With its occurrence in our environment, a direct and immanent opposition to socialist realism takes place for the first time in the world" (Lukić, 1963: 17). Keeping in mind that neoclassicism, with its advocating for the "aesthetic character and treatment of art" (Lukić 1963: 17) had exactly the same function of breaking with the so-called dogma in the context of Serbian art music of the 1950s, I believe that it is indeed possible to consider these notions as congruent, at least in this particular decade. Discussing the transformations of Serbian fine arts in the post-WWII period, Miško Šuvaković accentuates the gradual transformation of 'socialist realism' into moderated modernist art, which he also calls 'socialist aestheticism' (Šuvaković, 2008).

Although the stylistical foundations of this tendency in fine arts are not the same as in the case of Serbian art music (because these disciplines followed different developmental paths in the interwar period), it would not be wrong to say that their results 'were' similar, and that they both reflected the 'spirit of the times.' For instance, Šuvaković discusses the creative output of the visual artist Lazar Vozarević (1925–

1968) and observes the similarities between his poetic attitudes and the creative approaches of the poet Vasko Popa (1922–1991) and the composer Ljubica Marić (1909–2003) (Šuvaković, 2008). There were other Serbian composers of the time who could be observed in the same context, notably Dušan Radić, who based a significant part of his vocal-instrumental opus on the lyrics of Vasko Popa.

According to M. Šuvaković, the process of aesthetical distancing of Yugoslav art from Marxism as the dominant, hegemonic, and controlling discourse was gradual in the decades after WWII, and was carried out in several stages (Šuvaković, 2017). He points out the important change in social circumstances at the moment of solidification of the artistic practice of socialist aestheticism:

(...) socialist aestheticism occurs at the moment of establishment of the postrevolutionary period in the socialist revolutionary society, and when bureaucrats and technocrats replace the revolutionaries at the important – but not leading – functions in the society, which means that the socialist aestheticism is an expression of interests and tastes of the new governing class whose task is not only to change the world, but also to enjoy living in it (Šuvaković, 2008).

Socialist Modernism

According to Lazar Trifunović, aestheticism had everything it took to blend into the projection of the partially liberalized socialist society (Šuvaković, 2008). As a further consequence, the art historian Ješa Denegri introduces the notion of “socialist modernism:” he points out the specific position of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ‘between East and West’ during the Cold War, which is why he argues that socialist modernism “emerged as such *only in Yugoslavia* [my italics, J.J.B], thus constituting a unique formation resulting from the cross-breeding of the properties of the Eastern and Western art model” (Denegri, 2003: 173).

M. Šuvaković defines socialist modernism in aesthetics as the “procedure of renewal of the humanistic aesthetic-philosophical modernism in real socialism, with all its lateral or excess divergences, contradictions and revisions” (Šuvaković, 2017). He considers the notion of ‘socialist modernism’ to be paradoxical because it calls attention to the fact that within real socialism, at a certain point of its existence, a potentiality occurs for

its development 'as Western modernism'; in other words, as modernism which in Yugoslavia gets its internal autonomy and external function. 'Internal autonomy' means that the areas of various social practices gradually allowed for the possibility of immanent development of aesthetic, philosophical, scientific, or artistic practices without the necessity for their direct valorisation by the League of Communists. 'External function' implied declarative acceptance and reference to the 'revolutionary' *traditions* and social values proclaimed by the League of Communists as the criteria of belonging to or being faithful to set idealities or *brands* of the selfregulating socialist society (Šuvaković, 2017).

According to the same author, 'socialist modernism' is postulated as the *condition for the existence of modern art in a socialist society*. He argues that it is highly unlikely that new cultural or artistic processes (from the early 1960s onwards) would have been put in motion if the general shift in political course had not occurred; nor would they have transfigured so quickly and thoroughly, in just a few years, the situation on the artistic scene in Yugoslavia and, accordingly, caused the shift of the entire artistic climate. Nevertheless, Šuvaković agrees with Denegri, who claims that this change was not carried out only due to political reasons and interests: actually, "the defining role in the process was played by the artistic production itself," who took the opportunity to fill in the 'Yugoslav artistic space' with different contents and expressive languages (Šuvaković, 2017).

Šuvaković concludes that this complex political, social, cultural, and artistic process led to a new type of artistic work, different from 'socialist realism', but also different from the 'high' modernism of the interwar period. This 'socialist modernism' can be summed up as the "discovery and development of the autonomy of art in the society conditioned by the centralized government and its cultural policy" (Šuvaković, 2017).

Denegri observes that in the process of establishing this specifically Yugoslav stylistic formation, a key role was played by the Yugoslav cultural and political institutions, which provided logistic support, organised the exhibitions of foreign art in Yugoslavia after 1950, and served as mediators when Yugoslav art was exhibited on the international artistic scene (Denegri, 2003: 173). Similar tendencies can also be observed in Serbian art music since the late 1950s, with an increasing desire to "catch

up” with the dominant currents of European musical modernism.¹⁴ One of the examples of state support for new music was the establishment of the ‘Biennial of Contemporary Music’ in Zagreb (the capital of Croatia) in 1961, as an expression of the desire to position Yugoslavia as an important centre on the map of the (Western-)European post-war music scene, though this goal was never fully realized. Subsequently, ‘Yugoslav artistic space’ and its particular formation of ‘socialist modernism’ were never fully integrated into the corpus of Western modernism(s) in the second half of the 20th Century.

Aleksandar Obradović and the Socialist Modernism in Music

Aleksandar Obradović’s opus encompasses the entire second half of the 20th Century; however, the key elements of his poetics were already established during the 1950s and further developed in the seventh decade of the 20th Century. Generally speaking, his compositional style brings together characteristics of ‘traditional’¹⁵ musical language with certain up-to-date elements of the dominant currents in European art music of the time. He has remained faithful to these artistic postulates until the very end of his creative journey, and he has readily confirmed this in one of his last interviews (a few years before his passing):

(...) novelties in art cannot exist by themselves, create themselves. The root is always in some former events. In a climax of former styles or trends, there is a germ from which a new branch will grow, like a new path (Marinković, 1997: 14).

His highly original mixture of ‘old’ and ‘new’ is often labelled in Serbian musicology as some sort of ‘neoclassicism,’ highlighting the traditionalist aspects of his musical style such as architectonics of the pieces (sonata form), broadly tonal language, traditional thematic work, etc. Obradović’s ‘traditionalist’ approach is probably the reason why in the recent decades he has been pushed to the margin of the musicological science in

¹⁴ Interestingly, the serialist avant-garde of the ‘Darmstadt circle’ – which at the time was already losing its initial feeling of radical novelty – did not find a ‘fertile ground’ in Serbian music (unlike in Croatian or Slovenian). As I mentioned earlier, the non-serial compositional techniques of the Polish composers such as Witold Lutoslawski, Krzysztof Penderecki and others had a much stronger reception among Serbian composers, notably in the generation born in the fourth decade of the 20th century.

¹⁵ I place the adjective ‘traditional’ under quotation marks because, as I am going to show, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact tradition on which Obradović leans upon.

Serbia which has been preoccupied with the achievements of the musical avant-garde and post avant-garde / postmodern music in the second half of the 20th Century.¹⁶ The only sizeable musicological study devoted to the Aleksandar Obradović's symphonism—the most important facet of his creative work – was written as early as 1979 by Zorana Radić, as a graduation paper at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade.¹⁷ This study bears the characteristics of the positivist, analytically oriented Yugoslav musicology of the time, wherein very little attention is devoted to the contextualisation of the composer's oeuvre.¹⁸ More recently, Serbian musicologist Dragana Stojanović-Novičić dedicated a significant part of her PhD dissertation to Obradović as well, placing him in a wider context of Serbian symphonic music, which she analysed from a particular perspective, at the intersection of the avant-garde and the postmodern tendencies in music of the 1960s and the 1970s. She also observed Obradović and other composers of symphonic music in the context of the most important festivals in Yugoslavia dedicated exclusively to contemporary music creation: the Music Biennale Zagreb (MBZ) and the Platform of Yugoslav Musical Work in Opatija (Stojanović-Novičić, 1999). Today also, it is necessary to re-consider Aleksandar Obradović's opus in the context of social and cultural circumstances in the FPRY and then in the SFRY in order to determine more precisely his artistic achievements and the place he should occupy in the histories of Yugoslav/Serbian music. This is all the more important because Obradović shares the unfortunate destiny of many Serbian composers of his generation, whose notable compositions (symphonies, concertos, vocal-instrumental works), while often

¹⁶ Here in particular I refer to the studies by Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman such as Veselinović 1983; Veselinović-Hofman, 1997; Veselinović-Hofman, 2002: 18–32, etc. The study by Melita Milin (Milin, 1998) represents an important exception because the author observes Serbian art music composed up to the breakthrough of the “second wave” of Serbian music avant-garde in the 1960s.

¹⁷ This graduation paper was published several years later, but without any changes in the main text, as: Radić, 1987. Her analysis encompassed Obradović's symphonies Nos. 1–6 (the last of them was composed in 1976–77), as well as several other large scale orchestral and vocal-instrumental pieces which were composed until that moment. The only addendum of the later date is the list of Obradović's compositions which was probably made by the composer himself in 1993.

¹⁸ Another notable examples of this sort of writing on Obradović's music can be found for instance in the study in French language by Louis-Mark Suter (Suter, 1989); on in Olivera Stambolić's more recent article (Stambolić, 2005: 178–188).

performed at the time of their creation and still (relatively) highly regarded in Serbian music history, today rarely reach the concert stage.¹⁹

Aleksandar Obradović stepped onto the Yugoslav music scene as a member of the first generation of composers who graduated from the Music Academy (today: the Faculty of Music) in Belgrade after WWII: he began his studies in 1945, at the time when the 'sorealist' doctrine was in full force in the 'second Yugoslavia' (then: FPRY). The insight into the circumstances of the composer's growth and artistic maturity, as well as into his opinions on 'socialist realism' in music (clearly expressed in the aforementioned interview, from a half-a-century's distance), suggest – somewhat unexpectedly – that this 'reactionary' artistic trend did not have a direct or determining influence on his formative years as a composer:

In my opinion, for many who nowadays speak of some 'dictated standards' in art, it is a fabricated thesis. If, from the present-day point of view, one assesses the period forty or fifty years in the past, then the same criteria could be used when speaking of the present-day dictated standards based on religious [Orthodox] grounds, and the trend which could even be criticized more sharply. People used to write out of their own desire, just as they do now because they want to write. A trend need not necessarily be regarded as a dictated standard. A trend can designate a fashion or a sincere desire to follow a path. (...) Therefore, everyone composed to his liking (Marinković, 1997: 12–13).²⁰

Of course, other Yugoslav/Serbian composers might have had varying opinions on this subject matter, and it is disputable whether or not Obradović's statement should be taken for granted. Either way, he stressed the importance of commissions, which were well paid, and thus represented a very welcome impetus for compositional creation, admitting that "[a]fter the liberation there was a trend of writing mass songs. It was a

¹⁹ As a noteworthy exception one should mention the world premiere of Aleksandar Obradović's Piano Concerto No. 3 *Pro libertate* in 2011, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the composer's passing, twelve years after the piece was completed (1999). This premiere took place at the Belgrade Music Festival (BEMUS), the most important art music festival in Serbia, and it drew unanimously positive reviews. See: Cvetković, 2013: 99–109.

²⁰ Obradović expressed the same opinion in an earlier interview at Radio Belgrade 2nd Programme (in February 1993), which was subsequently printed in: Jevtić, 2011, notably pp. 231–232.

mass need. Since there was a need, there were commissions,” and concluding that “[n]obody wrote against his own wish” (Marinković, 1997: 13).

Nevertheless, Obradović admitted that it is “[c]ertain that the environment and conditions influence our lives. There is no doubt that they do” (Marinković, 1997: 14). It is highly likely that Obradović’s life-long attitudes towards the content, role, and place of music in Yugoslav (and Serbian) context were shaped by the direct influence of his composition professor, Mihovil Logar (1902–1998), a Belgrade-based Slovenian composer, who had been one of the more conservative members of the so-called ‘Prague Group’²¹ in the interwar period. Namely, even at the time when his fellow students in Prague were reaching for the most avant-garde music techniques of the time (dodecaphony, microtonal composition), Logar was unwilling to fully abandon traditional formal structures and tonalities of the Western music. Even at the time when elements of European avant-garde were gradually introduced into Yugoslav/Serbian art music in mid 1960s, Logar’s aesthetic position remained unchanged.²² Logar’s views are mirrored in Aleksandar Obradović’s work, which is characterized by the merging and overlapping of traditional and contemporary compositional techniques, as well as by the evolution of the music language without radical breaks with the past.²³

It is also important to ‘bring into the equation’ the circumstances of Obradović’s bourgeois upbringing, which conditioned his musical taste from an early age. He was born into a respected family and received first instructions in music from his Hungarian mother, who was a competent pianist. Afterwards, he nurtured his talent independently,

²¹ The title “Prague Group” refers to Serbian composers who studied in Prague in the interwar period, where they were introduced to the music of the “Second Viennese School” (because Prague was under German cultural influence), and also with microtonal and athenatic music of Alois Hába. The members of this informal group belonged to different generations, but Mihovil Logar is usually observed together with the members of the so-called “younger generation,” together with Dragutin Čolić (1907–1987), Milan Ristić, Ljubica Marić, Vojislav Vučković (1910–1942) and Stanojlo Rajičić (1910–2000), due to the fact that they all studied in Prague at the same time (Bergamo, 1980).

²² Highly illustrative in that respect is his short essay “Paradoks kratkog spoja između publike i savremenog kompozitora,” in which he claims that “lack of content” in contemporary music has caused interruption of communication between contemporary composers and their audience (Logar, 1968: 157–158).

²³ The proximity and interconnection of their aesthetic and social views – at least until the end of the 1950s – is illustrated by their collaborative (co-authored) report about the contemporary music scene in Serbia which they presented at the Conference of the League of Yugoslav Composers in Bled (Slovenia), 26–28 December 1956. Published as Logar & Obradović, 1957: 13–14.

listening to the operatic works in the repertoire of the Belgrade Opera at the time of German occupation (mostly Italian and German late romantic operas) (Marinković, 1997: 9). Mihovil Logar was actually his only 'real' music teacher who became Obradović's professor of piano and music theory at the School of Music in Belgrade²⁴ in autumn 1943, thus introducing the young autodidact into the world of 'academic' musical training (Marinković, 1997: 9–10; Jevtić, 2011: 228–231).

Obradović did not have the chance to graduate from the School of Music: after several extremely difficult years spent under German occupation, during which two of his close family members were shot to death, towards the end of the war he joined the partisans as a volunteer, against the wishes of his parents (he was only 17 years old). He was demobilized after several months and continued his grammar school education. An accidental meeting with Logar in summer 1945 contributed to his 'return' to the studies of music: after liberation Logar was appointed professor of composition at the Music Academy in Belgrade and he invited his former student to apply for the entrance exams for composition, because additional enrollment was being organized for the students who fought in the War (Marinković, 1997: 10–12). Obradović passed the test, and was subsequently admitted to Logar's composition class.

It is beyond doubt that the events of WWII influenced Obradović's sincere adherence to the communist ideology and its artistic ideals. However, his compositions reveal a picture, which is not so onesided. First of all, it should be repeated that 'neoclassicism' (for instance, an imitation of Sergei Prokofiev's style) was widely accepted as a useful didactic tool in the studies of composition at the Music Academy, which was advanced by professors of all generations, including former avantgardists. Furthermore, the opinions expressed by certain Serbian musicologists that "artisanal, academic neoclassicism (...) was the 'speciality' of Aleksandar Obradović" (Mikić, 2007: 209) do seem to neglect the fact that he was actually one of the first Serbian composers to introduce aleatory, electronic music and *musique concrete*, micropolyphony, and other prominent traits of avant-garde music after WWII into his works.²⁵ 'Academism' in

²⁴ Today this school bears the name of its founder, the composer Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac.

²⁵ Obradović even wrote the first handbook of electronic music and electronic music instruments in Serbian language, as the addendum to his book *Uvod u orkestraciju* [An Introduction to Orchestration]. Published as Obradović, 1978.

Serbian music of the time should be understood as an expression of *anti-diletantism*,²⁶ the desire to master the 'artisanal' aspects of the great traditions of Western European music. At the time, a number of important Serbian composers saw this as an indispensable stage in the evolution of 'young' Serbian music culture on its journey towards full contemporaneity (*as* Western music culture!), a clear sign of the aforementioned tendency towards the *autonomy of arts* as an important trait of 'socialist modernism.'

The adoption of the elements of most recent avant-garde styles of the time (notably in the 1960s) can also be observed as the further affirmation of the autonomy of arts, which was, as already mentioned, desired by the artists, but also supported by the federal state. The other pole of 'socialist modernism,' as observed by M. Šuvaković, namely, the reference to the revolutionary traditions and (Eastern) communism, can also be seen in the music by Aleksandar Obradović, thus making him a paradigmatic representative of this stylistical formation in Serbian art music of the 1960s and 1970s (and even in later decades). Many among Obradović's notable works, such as his symphonies, clearly reflect the ideal projection of the artistic and political position of Yugoslavia, between 'East' and 'West.'

Perhaps the most striking – and the most notorious – example is Obradović's Symphony No. 4 (1972), a two-movement cycle which mimics the same macro-formal outline of his early Symphony No. 1 (1952). Both symphonies share the same 'programmatic' content with their references to WWII and the People's Liberation War (Radić, 1984: 5, 7). However, while Symphony No. 1 remains firmly rooted in the 'neoclassical' (neoromantic, neoexpressionist) musical language, Symphony No. 4 is much more interesting for its highly individualised use of heterogeneous stylistical devices. It was premiered in the year of its completion (1972) by the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra, to largely positive reviews, although certain critics expressed doubts regarding the overall aesthetic result of the Symphony given considerable stylistical differences between its two movements (for instance Josif, 1972: 14).

²⁶According to Vlastimir Peričić, the fact that the Music Academy in Belgrade was only a decade old (founded in 1937) created some sort of "fear of diletantism" among the first generation of professors after the end of WWII which is why they insisted that their students should master traditional forms and musical language of the past (Western) styles. Cf. Medić, 2007: 283; see also Medić, 2004: 79.

The first movement of the symphony is entitled *Buktinje (Torches)* and it is composed in the sonata form, whereas the first subject is based on the freely used 12-tone row and the second subject is quasi-folkloric (Stambolić, 2005: 186). This movement is 'programmatically' seen as a reminiscence of WWII (Radić, 1984: 7). The second movement is entitled *Odjeci (Echos)* and its formal scheme is 'variations with a theme' (Radić, 1984: 7), with the principal theme taken from the mass song *Družo Tito, ljubičice bela* (Comrad Tito, you white violet) – a eulogy to the life-long president of the 'Second Yugoslavia' and leader of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Marshal Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980). This very simple tonal melody is transformed from the very beginning of the movement in such ways that it is barely recognisable (or completely unrecognisable!) thanks to the use of the micropolyphony, clusters, aleatory, and chromatism.²⁷ The theme is further 'masked' with the clever use of orchestration and chordal mixtures, as well as with the introduction of another important thematic motive *b-e-b-a* (B flat – E – B flat – A),²⁸ and the quotations of both themes of the first movement. The main theme is practically 'hidden' from the immediate sight, but its elements are nevertheless present throughout the movement (notably its march-like rhythm), and it is fully quoted for the first time in the seventh variation (of twelve). There are other characteristic elements of motivic work, such as 'blending together' the main theme of the second movement with the first theme of the first movement (compare Radić, 1987: 69), both of which, apparently, symbolize Tito, the leader of the Yugoslav people both in the war times and in peace. The last variation is particularly interesting because it 'sums up' everything that has been said up to that point – all thematic materials of the movement – and it culminates with the 60-voice canonic imitation of the mass-song theme. Metaphorically speaking, the 'music *for* the masses' has been transformed into 'music *of* the masses'! The composer's message expressed with this music-technical device can be interpreted as the confirmation of his own conviction that the chosen 'way into the future' is the right one for Yugoslavia – the one, which can lead the country into the light of progress (expressed with the elements of avant-garde musical language!) but based on the morals and values of the people's revolution, led by Tito (i. e. communism of the Eastern bloc).

²⁷ For detailed analysis of this movement and the Symphony as a whole, see Radić, 1987: 49–72.

²⁸ The symbolism of this motive is unknown – it could be a purely "musical" device, or it could have another meaning for the composer.

This piece can thus be seen as an epitome of 'socialist modernism' in its musical and ideological content, situated between the poles of 'East' and 'West.' It is therefore not surprising, that this particular symphony was chosen to be performed by the Czech Philharmonic orchestra as part of the 6th Belgrade Music Festival – BEMUS, the oldest and the most important art music festival in Serbia,²⁹ in 1974. As observed by Dejan Despić, the faithful chronicler of this music festival,

A rare event, the playing of a Yugoslav composer's work by a world-ranked top-class orchestra, occurred on the first of these evenings when the Czechs played Yugoslav Aleksandar Obradović's *Fourth* Symphony, obviously to the composer's great satisfaction! (Despić, 2001: 29).

Even more illustrative is the opinion of the conductor of the Czech Philharmonic, Václav Neumann, about the piece:

Obradović's work is very charming and interesting. If I did not like it, we would not have performed it. Your [Yugoslav] music reflects some sort of purity, it is reflective of the ideology, it is somehow – democratic. (Hristović-Samardžiski, 1974: 6).

It can thus be said that the 'ideology' of Obradović's Symphony No. 4 was not observed even at the time of its creation as rigidly 'communist' (despite its programmatic content!) largely because its musical language revealed the tendency for the *autonomy of art*. This symphony, as well as Obradović's other notable works, reflects a careful consideration of *musical* problems and the composer offers highly personal solutions to the 'needs' of Yugoslav art, thus revealing himself as both a *modernist* (in his longing for the autonomous development of his discipline, in the particular *Yugoslav-Serbian* context and circumstances) and as a *socialist* (in the core values he propagates with his programmatic pieces).

²⁹ Belgrade Music Festival – BEMUS was founded in 1969 as the central festive event marking the 25th anniversary of the Liberation of the City of Belgrade (Janković, 2006: 46). Obradović's Symphony was performed on the first of two concerts of the Czech Philharmonic orchestra, on 11 October 1974 at the Kolarac Hall in Belgrade (BEMUS, 2017).

Conclusion

In my opinion, the selected example from the opus of Aleksandar Obradović, among many other possible illustrations, clearly demonstrates that there is sufficient evidence which confirm the hypothesis of this paper – that the stylistical formation of ‘socialist modernism’ was equally represented in Yugoslav/Serbian music as in the visual arts and architecture of the same period. Therefore, the introduction of this notion into Serbian and wider musicological discourse would be very welcome, perhaps even necessary, when analysing the music composed in Yugoslavia (and Serbia as its part) in the 1960s onwards, until the dissolution of the country. It could be used to describe in the most general and comprehensive way the diverse opuses of a number of Serbian/Yugoslav composers belonging to (or around) Obradović’s generation who predominantly composed large scale symphonic and vocal-instrumental works, such as Rudolf Bruči [Brucci] (1917–2002), Dušan Kostić (1925–2005), Petar Ozgijan [Osgian] (1932–1979), Slobodan Atanacković (b. 1937), etc. Even though their individual poetics are different, they all demonstrate the tendency, quoted earlier, towards the ‘internal autonomy and external function’ (Šuvaković, 2017) of their music which is both *modernist* (in its musical ‘language’) and *socialist* (in its ‘ethical’ dimension, which contradicts the presupposed modernistic autonomy of arts).

In light of the analysis presented in this paper, another possible term for the same opus of works could be ‘Yugoslav neoclassicism.’ However, it would probably be better just to apply such a term to the music of the 1950s – in other words, to equate it with the notion of ‘socialist aestheticism’ – since the following decades did bring a wider aesthetic plurality of compositional approaches and gradual distancing from the principles of neoclassicism in the works of certain Serbian composers (and in certain Yugoslav republics this evolution was even more farreaching). On the other hand, having in mind that the syntagma ‘socialist modernism’ has already been accepted in art theory and history of Yugoslav architecture of the 1960s and later on, there is no reason why the parallel events in Yugoslav/Serbian music of the time would not be discussed in the same way, given the similarities of ideological starting points and of the resulting artistic productions.

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